

TIP
TODAY!
at the Dan-Acadia Hotel,
Hardiya Pithach.
Yes, today, July 13th, at 1:30 p.m. —
an OPEN DISCUSSION (in English)
with **ERIK WEIZMAN**
Bring your friends, neighbors and questions.
Light refreshments will be served.

Strikes next week if no pact soon

By ROY ISACOWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — Industrial unrest next week is likely if a public-sector wage agreement is not reached by the beginning of the week.
The heads of the Histadrut and the employers' negotiating teams met informally last night in a further attempt to find a wage formula acceptable to both sides. Wednesday night's negotiating session broke up after the unions rejected the employers' compromise offer of a 7 per cent wage increase next month.
The Histadrut is seeking a 10 per cent increase next month, the same as that awarded to public-sector workers last month. Employers' representative Avi Pijossor said yesterday, however, that the employers "do not print money like the government."
Pijossor urged the Histadrut to accept the employers' offer, with a review of the situation in November or December. "If the situation then demands a further increase, they will receive it," he said.
Union leaders representing some 500,000 private-sector workers said yesterday that they are preparing for industrial action if the negotiations fail. The Metalworkers and Electricians Union announced that it would "fight with all the means at our command" to achieve the same conditions as those granted to the public sector workers.
Union secretary Yitzhak Giladi said that if the talks fail, the union will give a free hand to works committees and labour councils to fight for whatever they can get.
Food Workers Union secretary

Moshe Saban-Cohen warned that bakeries, dairies and other food plants could be struck next week, if an agreement is not signed. The Woodworkers Union also announced its determination to take industrial action.
Histadrut Trade Union Department chairman Haim Haberfeld said this week that if an agreement is not signed by today, it means that there will not be an agreement before the elections. In that case, he added, each union will have to negotiate individually with the employers.
The two sides disagree about both the size of the projected wage increase and its distribution. The Histadrut has demanded 10 per cent next month and 16 per cent at a later date, to be decided, while the employers have offered 7 per cent next month, a further 5 per cent in October and a further 4 per cent next January. The employers' offer would cost them 9.5 per cent more than at present, if calculated over 12 months.
The employers are also insisting that wage increases be linked to increases in productivity.
Meanwhile, sharply differing interpretations were heard yesterday over the agreement signed between the Histadrut and the Engineers Union of Wednesday. Cause of the disagreement is the clause stating that the engineers will operate "within the framework of the Histadrut's regulations."
Atomic research workers in Dimona held a one-day warning strike yesterday to press their demands for a wage bonus.

Pre-poll settlement activity touches off dispute at WZO

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter
A wave of pre-election settlement activity in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District, culminating with the ceremonial inauguration of three new sites in the Gaza District one day before the elections, has sparked a charge of "electioneering" by Labour-affiliated officials of the World Zionist Organization's Settlement Department.
Department officials headed by co-chairman Mattityahu Drobits are planning to inaugurate eight to 10 settlements during the run-up to the elections, beginning on Sunday. Also on Sunday, the Joint Ministerial-WZO Settlement Committee is to meet to decide on the establishment of five additional settlements in those areas.
This stepped-up activity has prompted Drobits' co-chairman Nissim Zvili of Labour to accuse Drobits of using the department "purely for election purposes."
The drive will begin on Sunday afternoon with Science and Development Minister Yuval Ne'eman of Teliya inaugurating Adam, northeast of Jerusalem. The following day the Nahal outpost Asfar southeast of Bethlehem will be turned over to civilians. Two ceremonies are planned for Wednesday: one at Yitzhar south of Nablus and the other at Givat Levona near Shilo. On Thursday, Hagai will be inaugurated. And on Sunday, July 22, the wave is expected to peak with the inauguration of Rafiah-Yam at (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Panel to look into payments to Baruch

By AVI TEMKIN
Jerusalem Post Reporter
The Knesset State Control Committee will meet on Tuesday to discuss payments totalling \$65,000 made to Finance Ministry Director-General Nissim Baruch in connection with the sale of the Jewish Agency-owned Rasco building company, a company with strong Herut links three years ago.
Earlier this week it was learned that Baruch had received from the Jewish Agency a \$15,000 bonus one year after he arranged the sale of Rasco, of which he was then managing director, to Maba, a private company linked to Economics Minister Ya'acov Meridor.
Later it emerged that Baruch had also received some \$50,000 from Maba. According to Baruch, this payment was intended to keep him



Geraldine Ferraro, Walter Mondale's choice for a running mate, told the World Affairs Council of Northern California in San Francisco yesterday that "Ronald Reagan does not have a single foreign-policy success to his name." (UPI telephoto)

Mondale picks woman as running mate

ST. PAUL, Minnesota (AP). — Walter Mondale, the expected Democratic Party presidential candidate, yesterday introduced Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro as his choice as running mate.
"I know what it takes to be a good vice-president. I was once one myself," said Mondale, who served under former president Jimmy Carter. "I looked for the best vice-president and I found her in Geraldine Ferraro."
In accepting the invitation, Ferraro invoked her immigrant, Italian background, saying, "In America, anything is possible if you work for it."
"When Fritz Mondale asked me to be his running mate he sent a powerful signal about the direction he wants to lead our country," she said.
Mondale said the decision to choose a woman was "a difficult" one at first, but said the choice soon became clear. "She's earned her way here today," Mondale said. (See story page 4)

Prospects growing dim for TV coverage of Olympics

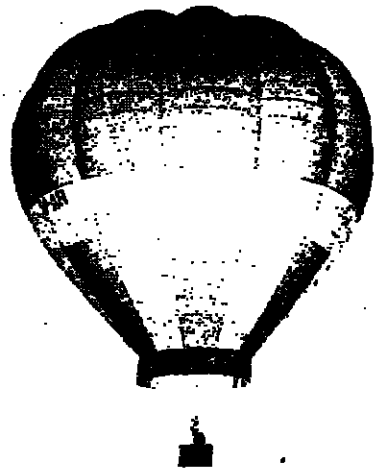
By GREER FAY CASHMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter
The likelihood that Israel Television will provide coverage of the Olympic Games grew dim yesterday, following an emergency meeting in Tel Aviv of the Israel Broadcasting Authority's board of directors.
IBA director-general Uri Porat, who only two months ago was enthusiastic about screening the Olympics, yesterday was in favour of cancelling coverage because, in his view, the Olympics have become union ammunition in threats against the IBA.
The board also discussed the possibility of an indefinite lockout, but (Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)

Paris seeks role in Mideast, French minister tells Shamir

Jerusalem Post Staff
TEL AVIV. — French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson met yesterday with opposition leader Shimon Peres after conferring earlier with Prime Minister Shamir.
The French minister told reporters he had come to Israel because "my president cannot imagine that we should be that close to a friend, Israel, and not come and see them." He said he was referring to "first and foremost the government, but also the others, fighting in the election."
Cheysson flew to Damascus after a breakfast meeting with Peres at the home of the French ambassador in Jaffa.
Cheysson, who arrived here (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Patt: Free-trade pact in September

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
WASHINGTON. — The U.S. and Israel are expected to sign a formal agreement establishing a free-trade area between the two countries during the second week of September, Industry and Trade Minister Gideon Patt said yesterday.
Patt told Israeli reporters at the Israeli embassy here that the agreement was contingent on approval of final authorizing legislation by the U.S. Congress when it reconvenes on July 23.
Patt said special U.S. trade representative Bill Brock was likely to visit Israel in September to sign the agreement. Patt and Brock met earlier yesterday to conclude the fifth round of negotiations, designed to remove all trade barriers between the two countries over the next few years.
Some issues — including the matter of Israeli subsidies to export industries — remain to be resolved, Patt said. He said a delegation of U.S. officials will visit Israel in August in this connection.



Beautiful balloon

The boom and bust of 1977-78 set the pattern for Israeli 'Boursamania.' Post Finance Reporter Pinhas Landau charts the ups and downs of the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, in a series of six articles beginning today. Page Ten

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Smith poll shows gains for small parties Labour's lead narrows to 10% over the Likud

By HANOC and RAFI SMITH
Special to The Jerusalem Post
The Alignment's lead over the Likud has been narrowed to 10 per cent — 39.5 per cent for Labour to 29.5 per cent for the Likud — in a poll taken by the Smith Research Centre this week.
Compared to their June poll results, this represented a loss of 4.5 per cent for Labour and a gain of 1.5 per cent for the Likud.
Labour lost most of its percentage points to other opposition parties. Shinui gained nearly 3.5 per cent of the voters polled, and the Citizens Rights Movement gained nearly 2 per cent. Arie Eliaz stood a good chance of passing the 1 per cent barrier needed for Knesset representation.

Yisrael and Tami continued to lose votes to the new religious lists Shas and Morasha, and to Kach. All these lists except Kach were safely over the 1 per cent barrier.
The poll was carried out in all parts of the country among 1,200 Jewish voters, and included moshavim and kibbutzim as well as the urban population.
Labour's lead over the Likud was still substantial, but it is impossible to predict the trend over the 10 days remaining until election day.
Ezer Weizman's Yahad list lost 1 per cent, but even with 2.5 per cent of the vote this still makes him an important factor in setting up a new

government, if the poll results hold on July 23.
The undecided vote as measured by the Smith poll continued to be very small, standing at 3 per cent.
The gains made by the small and new parties would indicate — if this trend continues — that formation of a new government could become extremely complicated.
The Arab vote was not included in the poll. But however the Arab vote is spread, it will further complicate forming a government along the present coalition and opposition lines.
What is clear is that race has become closer as election day approaches.

Results by parties and blocs (Jewish voters) in percentages

Party or bloc	1981 elections	April poll	June poll	July poll
Likud	40	28	28	29.5
Teliya, Ometz (Hurvitz)	4	5.5	5.5	7
NRP, Aguda, Tami	12.5	12	7	6
Morasha, Shas, Kach			3.5	4.5
Alignment			44	39.5
Ratz, Shinui	3.5	3.5	4	6.5
Yahad (Weizman)	—	3	3.5	2.5
others	2.5	1	1	1.5

(The poll does not include Arab voters)

Kuwait initials arms deal with Soviet Union

KUWAIT (AP). — Kuwait and the Soviet Union have initialled in Moscow a multi-million-dollar arms deal that opens the way for Soviet experts to come to the Arab country for the first time to train military personnel, it was reported here yesterday.
The deal highlighted the visit of Kuwait Defence Minister Sheikh Salem al-Sabah to Moscow at the head of a high-level military delegation.
Informed sources said the deal embraces sophisticated surface-to-air missiles, in addition to other undisclosed types of military hardware.
The deal agreement will be signed in Kuwait at a later, unspecified date, the paper said.

"The deal agreement carries no political overtones and does not imply any military facilities (for the Soviets) in Kuwait," Sheikh Salem told the paper's correspondent in Moscow.
Officials here said the deal was worth \$327 million.
"The agreement amounts to nothing more than a straight commercial deal, similar to deals Kuwait concluded with other countries for arms," said the sheikh. "The Soviets have offered us all that they have in their arsenal. They withheld nothing from us."
Citing no sources, Al-Qabas said that the agreement calls for Soviet military experts to come to Kuwait to assemble and operate the equip-

ment. They also were to train Kuwaiti military personnel, it said.
Arab and Western diplomatic sources noted that the deal marked a sharp departure from Kuwait's traditional policy of avoiding hosting Soviet military personnel.
Kuwait has been employing military experts from Egypt and Syria — the two Arab countries whose armed forces are supplied by the Soviet Union — to train Kuwaiti personnel on Russian arms.
Kuwait had sought the Stingers after the Saudis managed to obtain 400 of them from the Pentagon, to defend their oil installations and territorial waters against waters against further Iranian attacks on commercial shipping.

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	12.7.84	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	15	20	23	Clear
BRUSSELS	18	20	23	Clear
BUENOS AIRES	10	14	17	Cloudy
CHICAGO	17	20	22	Clear
COPENHAGEN	14	17	20	Clear
FRANKFURT	16	21	24	Clear
GENEVA	15	21	24	Clear
HELSINKI	15	21	24	Clear
HONG KONG	27	31	34	Clear
JOHANNESBURG	17	20	23	Clear
LONDON	14	17	20	Clear
MADRID	15	19	22	Clear
MONTREAL	14	17	20	Clear
NEW YORK	21	24	27	Clear
OSLO	14	17	20	Clear
PARIS	14	17	20	Clear
RIO DE JANEIRO	14	17	20	Clear
SÃO PAULO	13	16	19	Clear
STOCKHOLM	14	17	20	Clear
TOKYO	21	24	27	Clear
TORONTO	15	18	21	Clear
VIENNA	14	17	20	Clear
ZURICH	16	21	24	Clear

*For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.
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THE WEATHER

	Yesterday's Humidity	Yesterday's Min-Max	Today's Min-Max
Jerusalem	34	17-25	25
Golan	35	16-26	26
Nahariya	47	16-25	25
Safed	47	16-25	25
Haifa Port	64	22-28	28
Tiberias	72	22-34	35
Nazareth	72	22-34	35
Afula	55	21-31	30
Shomron	57	19-28	28
Tel Aviv	62	21-30	28
B-G Airport	62	21-30	28
Jericho	32	20-36	36
Gaza	67	19-30	30
BeerSheva	60	19-30	30
Eilat	10	20-37	37

Katzirs return home after USSR grilling

Former president Ephraim Katzir returned home from the U.S. yesterday with his wife Nina, having previously attended a scientific conference in Moscow. While visiting Leningrad, the Katzirs were held for interrogation by the KGB.

After stepping off the plane at Ben-Gurion Airport, Katzir told the press: "The KGB, of course, knew exactly who we were." He and his wife were grilled for many hours in a darkened room, he said. On the other hand, Katzir praised the hospitality shown them by their Soviet hosts at the conference. (Itim)

Sabotage charge found on road near Shilo

A home-made sabotage charge was found alongside a road leading to Shilo in Samaria yesterday morning, the second such incident in the area in a week.

The Jewish settlement's security officer discovered the charge, which was to be detonated by a pressure plate planted on the road. The Israel Defence Forces was summoned and a sapper dismantled the charge while soldiers and other security forces placed a cordon on the nearby village of Turmus Aya.

The curfew was lifted in the afternoon after extensive searches and questioning. Earlier this week, two similar devices were discovered alongside a road leading to a military post called Mevo Shilo on the hills overlooking the Jordan Rift east of Shilo.

HOME AND WORLD NEWS

Friday, July 13, 1984 The Jerusalem Post Page 1 Two

Elections '84

Begin donates IS25,000 to campaign

Jerusalem Post Political Reporter TEL AVIV. — In his first involvement in the election campaign, former prime minister Menachem Begin yesterday donated IS25,000 to the Likud.

This was announced yesterday at a press conference in Herut headquarters, where Deputy Prime Minister David Levy added his own contribution of IS10,000.

Begin's act was regarded as the long-awaited endorsement the Likud has been seeking. Begin sent his donation in to the

Likud headquarters in cash. It was conveyed by his longtime aide, Yehiel Kadishai.

Begin said on the phone to Kol Yisrael later that he was aware that his contribution "is very small, but I hope it will do some good." Asked if he plans an appeal to the public on behalf of the Likud, he replied: "Ten days are left to polling day, and we shall see."

Begin's donation, the Likud hopes, will spur a grass roots fundraising drive. The Likud is short of money.

'Shamir and Peres support unity gov't'

Jerusalem Post Staff TEL AVIV. — Mordechai Ben-Porat, head of the Movement for Zionist Renewal Knesset list, has commitments from both Yitzhak Shamir and Shimon Peres that they will do their utmost after the elections to form a national unity government, the movement's spokesman said last night.

Ben-Porat had met with both Shamir and Peres and received the commitments from them before he voted for holding early elections, the

spokesman said. He added that all polls show that neither the Likud nor the Alignment will receive an absolute majority, making a national unity government the antidote to extortion by small parties.

Porat has been trying to woo vegetarians to vote for his list, and has campaigned recently in nature-food stores in Tel Aviv. In one store he met Rafael Eitan — No. 2 on the Tehiya-Tzomet list — filming an advertisement for his natural olive oil. "Buy Rafal's oil but vote for me," Ben-Porat said.

DFPE group returns from Arafat talks

Jerusalem Post Staff Representatives of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality were invited by PLO chief Yasser Arafat to meet with him in Geneva, DFPE leader Knesset Member Meir Wilner said last night.

Speaking to reporters at Ben-Gurion Airport after his arrival from Switzerland, Wilner said that Arafat had wished the DFPE "success" in the elections during five hours of talks in Geneva. Wilner was accompanied by MK Tawfik Zayyad, Avraham Malik and Leon Zehavi.

The Jewish-Arab Progressive List for Peace yesterday dismissed the DFPE trip as the result of "panic that they are losing votes to the PLO." PLO chairman Yasser Arafat said that the list's voters "do not need to seek support from the outside, not from Washington, not from Moscow and not from the PLO."

Tehiya MK Gula Cohen yesterday called on Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir to investigate the DFPE-Arafat meeting, calling it a "public scandal," according to a Kol Yisrael report.

Rabin says Syrian accord is possible

Jerusalem Post Reporter TEL AVIV. — It is a fallacy to believe that Israel and Syria cannot reach an accommodation, Alignment Knesset Member Yitzhak Rabin told a luncheon meeting of the Insurers Forum here yesterday.

Rabin pointed to the 1974 troop-disengagement agreement, "which has held for 10 years," as an example of the sort of agreement that can be reached between Israel and Syria in Lebanon.

The Alignment's shadow defence minister also attacked the Likud's policy regarding Judea and Samaria. "How can a government that did not succeed in obtaining territorial compromise with Egypt expect to come to an agreement with Jordan without

giving up anything?" he asked. Having paid the price of Sinai, he said, the government must realize that the peace process cannot end now.

Rabin emphasized that the prime task facing the next government is the healing of the economy. The government will have to reorder national priorities to cut some \$1.5 billion from the state budget, he said.

Speaking as a "military man," he said that there is no security justification for Jewish settlements in Western Samaria, and no direct link between the confrontation lines with the Syrians in Lebanon and the security of Israel's northern border. In his opinion, Rabin said, \$750m. can be cut from the defence budget.

Find your polling place

Jerusalem Post Reporter Jerusalemites who have not yet received a voter's card from the Interior Ministry informing them of their polling station may call the ministry at 02-660151 (ask for Sara), and Tel Avivians may call 03-651941 (ask for Yehudit). Be prepared to give your identity card number.

Katyusha at IDF post

Jerusalem Post Reporter METULLA. — A Katyusha shell of 107 mm. fell Wednesday night near an Israel Defence Forces outpost in Tyre. No one was hurt and no damage was caused. The shell was fired from one of the hills east of Tyre.

This is the second time in as many days that terrorists have fired Katyusha shells at an IDF outpost in the area. Units of the IDF and of the South Lebanon Army combed the area.

Poor turn-out for Arens address

Jerusalem Post Reporter TEL AVIV. — A well-publicized Likud election meeting featuring Defence Minister Moshe Arens started 55 minutes late here last night — because too few people came.

The meeting was scheduled to begin in the Nahmani Hall at 7 p.m., but only few seats were taken by then. At 7:45 p.m. an informed source said Arens was delayed. When some 100 people had arrived in the 640-seat hall, the minister was invited in.

Flatto-Sharon's list breaks up

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Samuel Flatto-Sharon's list has split. Of its 69 candidates, 67 have walked out and set up their own group, the "S. F. Movement."

No. 3 on the original list, Yossi Pe'er, told the press yesterday that the new list is ready to join the Likud, the Alignment or the Yahad list of Ezer Weizmann.

Pe'er also said that Flatto-Sharon had provided only \$700 of the \$3 million he had pledged to finance the list's election campaign. Meanwhile, Pe'er said, the party's activists have paid the bills out of their own pockets, hoping that Flatto-Sharon would keep his promise to reimburse them.

Ohalim leaders come out for Alignment

Jerusalem Post Reporter TEL AVIV. — Leaders of the Ohalim movement, a protest and community-action group of young residents of Jerusalem's poor neighbourhoods, have decided "it is time to give the Alignment a second chance."

TV TROUBLES

(Continued from Page One) Porat persuaded his colleagues that it would be unwise to shut television right now.

The meeting was called in response to the technicians' wildcat strike on Wednesday night, which truncated the *Maba* newscast. The strike in turn was inspired when a two-year-old memorandum surfaced that the technicians said would be used to keep them from collecting 530 per cent overtime for covering the Olympics.

If the matter is not resolved quickly, it is likely that there will be TV coverage of the Olympics. A team of radio broadcasters is scheduled to leave for Los Angeles on Sunday.

Pro-Syrian forces battle Maronites in north Lebanon

TRIPOLI. — Syrian President Hafez Assad dispatched an envoy to north Lebanon yesterday to pacify pro-Syrian militias who have been fighting each other in heavy battles, Beirut radio said.

The fighting in northern Lebanon between the Marada (Giants) militia of ex-president Suleiman Franjeh and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (of Lebanon) continued throughout the day after overnight battles. The police said Franjeh's fighters overran an SSNP-held town and moved into the party's strong-

hold of Amyoun in the Koura district. House-to-house battles were reported, police said.

Brigadier-general Mohammad Kholi, a personal representative of Assad, met for almost two hours with Franjeh at the ex-president's summer residence at Ehden and pleaded for a cease-fire.

The SSNP is a Lebanese group that advocates a greater Syria made up of Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Kuwait, Cyprus, and pre-Israel Palestine. Franjeh, a Maronite Catholic, is the most powerful feudal

politician in the north and a staunch ally of Syria.

The fighting broke out after two SSNP men were wounded in a dispute at a Marada checkpoint, sources said. A Marada source said three of their men had been wounded in the fighting, which police said had killed two civilians and wounded five.

Meanwhile, Libyan Foreign Minister Abdul-Salam Treiki delivered a message from Muammar Gaddafi to President Amin Jemayel yesterday, disregarding assassina-

tion threats by Shiite Moslem extremists.

Jemayel conferred with Treiki shortly before midday at the presidential palace in Baabda. The Libyan diplomat told reporters after the meeting that he relayed to Jemayel a message from the Libyan leader "concerning the situation on the Arab arena and the necessity of unifying the Arab stand."

In another development, Lebanese Shiite leader Nabih Berri left on Wednesday for Damascus, enroute to Moscow. (Reuters/AP)

Britain expels two Nigerian diplomats after kidnap try

LONDON (AP). — Britain yesterday expelled two members of the Nigerian Embassy because of last week's attempted kidnapping in London of Nigerian ex-transport minister Onanu Dikko.

The expulsions came one day after three Israelis and a Nigerian diplomat were arraigned in a London magistrates court on charges of kidnapping Dikko and unlawfully injecting him with drugs.

They are being held pending a hearing July 19, and the police said they were seeking four more suspects in the case.

Nigeria has repeatedly denied any involvement in the episode, which has strained diplomatic relations be-

tween Britain and its chief trading partner in Black Africa.

No direct action was taken against Nigeria's ambassador to London, Major General Haldun Hananiya, who flew back to Lagos late Wednesday night for consultations with his government.

However, the foreign secretary said it would be "inappropriate" for the ambassador to return to London.

Nigeria's military government, which came to power in a December 31 coup, had threatened to retaliate for any British moves stemming from the attempted kidnapping of Dikko, who tops Nigeria's list of ex-government officials wanted on corruption charges.

But Howe said he saw no reason why Nigeria should seek retaliation for the expulsions and said: "I hope there will be no lasting damage" to relations between the two countries.

Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe told Parliament that counsel for Peter Yedele and attaché Okon Edet were ordered to leave Britain by next Wednesday.

Edet was the diplomat in whose presence the crates containing Dikko and his kidnappers were opened by British customs officers.

Howe said the action was taken because the Nigerian government had refused to allow the police to question embassy staff about the kidnapping last Thursday of Dikko,

who was found drugged in a crate at a London airport.

The police inquiry disclosed evidence that appears to implicate members of the Nigerian High Commission (embassy). Howe told the House of Commons.

The Foreign Office summoned Hananiya on Wednesday — for the third time in three days — and Howe said yesterday that the Nigerian had repeated his government's denial of involvement in the attempted abduction.

British press reports speculated that Hananiya's swift departure was a face-saving way to avoid expulsion. He had repeatedly refused to waive diplomatic immunity.

Orthodox rabbinical leader condemns Jewish terror

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN

Jerusalem Post Reporter "They are dead wrong in what they did" though "they are among Israel's finest," the president of the (Orthodox) Rabbinical Council of America, Rabbi Louis Bernstein, said yesterday about those involved in the alleged Jewish terror underground.

Addressing a news conference at Beit Agnon in Jerusalem, Bernstein said that "something definitely went wrong in religious Zionism and in the Torah education" those involved had received. He thought they had been led astray by their emphasis on settlement of all of Eretz Yisrael to

the virtual exclusion of other aspects of Judaism.

Bernstein said, however, that after the trials of the suspects are over, his organization, which has more than 100 members living in Israel, will probably appeal to the president for clemency for those convicted.

He said that speaking for himself, the RCA should seek clemency only if those convicted show remorse.

Most of the 25 rabbis who signed the controversial advertisement in *The Jerusalem Post* on June 8 expressing "understanding" for the booby-trapping of the cars of the Arab mayors while "not condoning" attacks on innocent civilians are American RCA members.

Distributed at the press conference were copies of a letter Bernstein sent them from Jerusalem on July 5, in which he says he could find "no rationale" for that ad.

When the ad appeared, he wrote, the case was already sub judice "and Israelis do not want their courts pressured, particularly by outsiders.... Such ad limit options and reduce credibility."

Bernstein heads the U.S. delegation to the RCA's fourth joint international conference of the RCA, Bar-Ilan University and Yeshiva University, which opened this week in Jerusalem. He said that, to mark the organization's 50th anniversary,

it will hold its convention next July in Israel.

In answer to questions, Bernstein, who is also a member of the World Zionist Organization Executive, explored a statement by Shimon Peres urging voters to give the Alignment such a victory that it would be able to form a coalition without the religious parties.

On the plank in the Alignment platform promising equality to all streams in Judaism, Bernstein said it was not for Israel to grant rights to "a non-existent stream." Did Israelis really want to recognize rabbis who officiate at marriages together with a Christian minister or priest? he asked.

Man charged with murder of PWD worker in Bethlehem

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Jamal Ahmed al-Awama, a 22-year-old resident of the Beduin township of Ta'amara near Bethlehem, was charged yesterday with the murder of Ya'acov Koor, 40, of Jerusalem in the Bethlehem vegetable market in July 1982.

Awama was detained in April this year after a booby-trap device he was making together with an accomplice exploded, injuring both. He also faces 10 other charges involving various terrorist activities.

According to the charge sheet presented to the Ramallah military court, Awama joined Fatah and was trained in the use and manufacture of arms and explosives during a 13-day course in a camp outside Damascus.

On July 17, 1982 he left his home armed with a Barrett pistol intending to kill another Arab suspected of collaboration with the Israeli authorities "or a Jewish settler," according to the charge sheet.

In the Bethlehem market, he approached Koor, a veteran employee of the Public Works Department, who was shopping together with his two children. Awama allegedly shot him at close range in the head.

In addition, he is charged with manufacturing several home-made bombs that were planted in a bus shelter near East Talpiot and one that was also thrown at an Israeli Defence Forces bus travelling between Bethlehem and Jerusalem.

In Gaza, a military court sentenced seven young men to prison terms ranging from seven to 15 years for a series of grenade attacks on Israeli and local targets at the beginning of the year.

Six of the seven accused had previous convictions for various security offences. The group's most spectacular attack was last December, when they hurled two grenades into the courtyard of former Gaza mayor Rashad Shawwa.

Motor stolen from drowned man's boat; 2 held

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Two Jaffa men were released on IS 20,000 bail each by the Tel Aviv Magistrates Court yesterday after being charged with stealing the motor off a fishing boat just after the boat's owner drowned.

The two men are brothers Imran and Mohammed Da'if.

The 59-year-old fisherman was from Thailand but lived in Jaffa with his family. Two of the man's sons were saved in a daring rescue after the boat capsized in rough seas on Tuesday, but the father drowned. Later it emerged that thieves had taken advantage of the confusion caused by the drowning to steal the motor from the drowned man's boat.

To the directors of

CAMP SDE CHEMED

Rabbi E. Teitelbaum and Rabbi M. Gottesman and all the youngsters of Camp Sde Chemed

A Hearty Welcome to Israel
May you enjoy your vacation!

OLAMI
Travel and Tourist Co. Ltd.

Israel Council of Young Israel
Welcomes the 120 Youngsters of the
ACHVA YOUNG ISRAEL
MISSION-USA

In Israel for a week-study tour.
Service in Yeshurun Synagogue tomorrow, July 14, commencing at 8:00 a.m., will be conducted by the Young Israel Young Adult Minyan and the Achvah Mission with the participation of
Dr. Harold Jacobs, President of the National Council of Young Israel, USA
We invite all tourists to visit the International Headquarters of Young Israel at 28 Shmuel Hanagid St., Jerusalem, Tel. 02-215153/2.

Center for Conservative Judaism
Congregation Moshav Yisrael
World Council of Synagogues
United Synagogue of America
4 Agon Street, Jerusalem
Invite their members and friends to attend a

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR RABBI BARUCH (BERNARD) SEGAL

which will take place in the Beit Knesset on Tuesday, July 17 at 8:45 p.m.

At 3.30 p.m. on Friday, July 20, 1984,
one year after the death of our
dear mother and grandmother

ESTHER VARDY

we will gather at the graveside for a memorial ceremony.

Vardy/Barlyne,
5 Gaza Road, Jerusalem, Tel. 637077

On the thirtieth day after the passing of our beloved

Abigail Yosef KOLABKAR

a memorial service and unveiling of the tombstone will be held on Monday, July 16, 1984 at 5.15 p.m. at the cemetery in Holon. We will meet at the main gate at 5.00 p.m.

Husband Emanuel Yosef and family

Israel Oceanographic and Limnological Research
mourns the death of

LYKA ZISMAN

and expresses its sincere condolences to the family.

Management and Staff of I.O.L.R.

The unveiling of the tombstone and the memorial service for our darling

CHAVA NISSEL

will take place on Monday, Tammuz 16, 5744 (July 16, 1984) at 9.30 a.m. We shall meet at the Har Hazeitun cemetery, at the Intercontinental Hotel.

Shabtai Nissel
Tamar and Itzhak Tessler
Judy and Larry Freedman
Manny and Dabbi Nissel
Frank and Brenda Families

To our Dear Relatives and Friends
Our sincere thanks and deep appreciation for the
condolences, kindness and help extended to us
in the sad loss we have sustained with the
untimely passing of our dear

CHAIM HERBST

Sybil and Dorit Herbst

TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY
mourns the sudden passing of
Member of the Board of Governors

Dr. JASHA POMERANIEC

of Monte Carlo
and sends condolences to Mrs. Pomeraniec
and all the family.

We share the grief of our sister and sister-in-law,
Jeannette Pomeraniec on the sudden passing of
her dear husband

Dr. JASHA POMERANIEC

of Monte Carlo
Estelle and Solly Yach and family, Cape Town

Cohen and Aloni square off at Tel Aviv disco

MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV — The flickering, multi-coloured lights revolved from the ceiling of the Club, and disco music made it impossible to speak. A less likely place for confrontation between Knesset Members Shulamit Aloni (Citizens Rights Movement) and Geula Cohen (Tehiya) would be hard to imagine.

The confrontation was to have begun at 11 p.m. Wednesday, but nothing in swinging Tel Aviv begins before midnight.

The two MKs finally arrived and took their seats on either side of Yitzhak Livni, former director-general of the Israel Broadcasting Authority, who serve as moderator. The music stopped and the bright lights went on.

Livni introduced Cohen and Aloni as dominant fighters on the political scene. Cohen radiated warmth, idealism, inspiration and pathos as well as political know-how.

Asked whether she ever has any hesitations, Cohen began with her credo.

"If you're asking me whether I get up in the morning with any doubt about whether Eretz Yisrael belongs to me or not, well I don't have any doubts. I'm against doubt as an ideology. So far, I have stuck to my basic lines and beliefs, while others have withdrawn from them.

"I agree, it's not pleasant supervising a million Palestinians, when you only want to defend yourself. But if you run away from it, you'll have several million of them behind you, with guns aimed at your back. If you don't stop the Palestinian state in Judea and Samaria, you'll have to live with it in Tel Aviv. These days people seem to think Hussein is more moderate and that Arafat is a good boy. That's nonsense. In this respect I have both feet planted firmly on the ground."

Compared to Cohen, Aloni was cold and rational throughout. Her credo placed the human being in the centre, as opposed to land, religion or state. And when she spoke, there was visible unrest in the audience.

"I believe in a State of Israel based on the Proclamation of Independence, which is founded on the value of the human being and equality before the law. The Zionist aim was to found a sovereign state here and now, not moulded on the spirit of 3,000 years ago. You (Geula) and I were both Palestinians. Today we are Israeli because we have self-determination. Whoever wants to annex the occupied territories must either resort to Rabbi Kahane's solutions of genocide or mass deportation, or apartheid, like in South Africa."

EYE-WITNESS

"The only solution is to let the population in the territories choose its own leadership, from among its residents, as a step towards self-determination. I prefer a smaller country to oppression over another people."

"Do you want Arafat there? Is that what?" shouted a man from the audience. And when Aloni denounced the takeover at Beit Hadassah in Hebron, in violation of the law, a woman shrieked: "Jews were murdered there in 1929!"

Arabs were killed in Jaffa in 1948, but I don't hear you say they must return to Jaffa, Haifa or Ramle," countered Aloni.

Cohen and Aloni were also on opposite sides of the fence regarding Jewish terrorism. Cohen denounced terrorism, but said she hopes the courts will take into consideration what she called the government's neglect in protecting the settlers, and the settlers' plight and hardships. Aloni said she believes Jewish terrorism is a direct outcome of the government's permitting armed groups to settle in the territories.

"I'm glad to see that as long as they are only suspects, their houses have not been torn down and no collective punishment has been meted to their settlements. I hope that from now on the authorities will treat Arab terror suspects in the same way," she said. After slamming the religious establishment for tightening the abortion law, Aloni was asked by a



Debaters Shulamit Aloni (left) and Geula Cohen (right) are introduced by moderator Yitzhak Livni.

person in the audience whether she had ever undergone an abortion, and if she had had any trouble doing so.

Aloni assuaged the audience by replying that she had had an abortion, before there was an abortion law as it is today. In those days, she recalled, abortion was forbidden by

a law from the days of the British mandate, but the attorney-general had advised not to act against abortions unless criminal neglect took place.

Aloni and Cohen agreed only on one point: if a national unity government is formed, neither of them will join it.

Judge criticizes president for 'lapse'

TEL AVIV (Itim) — After spending 15 years behind bars, Rafael Shukrun, 45, was yesterday sent back to jail for three years for smuggling 284 grams of heroin into the country. Shukrun, who had been freed on a presidential pardon, was caught at Ben-Gurion Airport after returning from his third brief purchasing trip to Holland.

In passing sentence, Judge David Wallach of the Tel Aviv District Court said the president had erred in pardoning Shukrun without seeing to his rehabilitation. Having Shuk-

run depend on his National Insurance Institute payment for his sole source of income exposed him to pressures and temptations. Wallach said.

Shukrun received his pardon after 15 years in prison because he was suffering from a difficult blood disease, defence counsel Moshe Levy told the court.

Since Shukrun had cooperated with the police and in view of his bad health, Wallach gave him three months in prison and a three-month sentence suspended for three years.

IPO wins praise on tour Down Under

SPECIAL TO THE JERUSALEM POST
SYDNEY — The Israel Philharmonic Orchestra began its Australian tour this week to enthusiastic notices. At Sydney's opera house, for example, soloist Shlomo Mintz and conductor Zubin Mehta were called back to the stage nine times by the audience.

The tour began Monday in Perth. The music critic of *The West Australian Daily* said: "Mehta and the musicians of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra last night gave a stunning interpretation of Mahler's monumental *Third Symphony in D Minor* that will live long in the memory."

State must pay man arrested without justification

BEERSHEBA (Itim) — Ruling that a suspect who was brought to court for extension of his remand had been arrested without justification, Beersheba Magistrates Court judge ordered the state to pay the man IS3,000 compensation and released him on bail of one shekel.

Natan Jibal, 27, of Arad, was arrested on suspicion of breaking into a house in his town and stealing property worth IS280,000. Police said Jibal had been arrested without justification.

the court to remand Jibal for 10 days to complete his interrogation.

Judge Shmuel Mintzer said that the information linking Jibal to the burglary came from an anonymous source, whose identity is not known even to the police. Mintzer said he could not understand why it was necessary to arrest a man in order to clarify information received anonymously, released Jibal, and ordered the state to compensate him.

Trial delayed in underground case

JERUSALEM POST STAFF
The trial of Yehuda Cohen, charged with conspiring to blow up the Temple Mount in the Jewish terror case, was postponed yesterday by the Jerusalem District Court after his plea-bargaining deal fell through at the last minute.

Cohen, 25, of Ofra, is charged with conducting surveillance of the Temple Mount on three occasions to determine the security arrangements there. Cohen is the only defendant to have been released on bail.

According to the plea-bargaining deal worked out with the prosecution, Cohen was to have pleaded guilty to the charges. The problem appears to centre on differing interpretations of the number of persons involved in the conspiracy, with the defence contending that Cohen was involved with only one other underground member. The prosecution, however, is pressing to link the defendant with the entire underground, which would almost certainly carry a stiffer sentence.

Both the prosecution and the defence will now have to consider their positions before the trial can be resumed.

Only 72 Soviet Jews emigrated in June

GENEVA (AP) — The number of Jewish emigrants leaving the Soviet Union by way of Vienna fell to 72 during June, 30 less than in the same month of 1983. The Intergovernmental Committee for Migration said yesterday.

The ICFM said that 109 Jewish emigrants left the Soviet Union in May of this year, 74 in April, 51 in March, 90 in February and 88 in January, for a total of 484 during the first half of the year.

In 1983, 1,321 Jews left the Soviet Union, the committee said.

Wallenberg exhibit opens at Yad Vashem

JERUSALEM POST STAFF
An exhibition called "Homage to Raoul Wallenberg," documenting the activities of the Swedish diplomat who saved thousands of Hungarian Jews from the Nazis while serving in Budapest opened this week at Yad Vashem.

Participants in the first World Congress of Hungarian Jews attended the opening ceremony and honoured the memory of the 600,000 Hungarian Jews who perished during the Holocaust.

Wallenberg was taken in 1944 by the Russians, who later said he died in the Soviet Union. But rumours persist that Wallenberg is alive.

Blast rips through 4 storeys of Ofakim apartment house

OFAKIM (Itim) — A powerful explosion ripped through four storeys of an apartment house early yesterday morning in this development town. No one was hurt, but walls collapsed, doors were torn out of their frames and window panes shattered.

The explosion was caused by about two kilograms of explosives placed outside the apartment of Armond Haroush, 38, a guard in Beersheba prison, the police said. His apartment and that of his neighbour across the fourth-storey landing, Rafael Zohar, 37, a policeman, were completely destroyed.

The hands on a clock in Haroush's apartment stopped at 2:37 a.m.

But Haroush slept through the blast. His wife woke him up, screaming. "The house is going up in flames," he told the police he

couldn't understand how he didn't hear anything. "I'm usually a light sleeper, the slightest sound wakes me up," he said. "Whoever did this must have sprayed some kind of sleeping gas into my apartment," he added.

Zohar said he had gone to bed minutes before the blast. "I heard the explosion and then a window crashed down on me. My four children were thrown out of their beds and began to cry. I started to run for the door, but couldn't find it, in the dark and in all the dust," he said.

The police still do not know whether the intended victim was Haroush or Zohar.

The head of the Ofakim local council Yehiel Bentov said that Amigur, the building's owners, would find the affected tenants other apartments.

Man gets suspended sentence for allowing rape

TEL AVIV (Itim) — A man who allowed his friend to rape his girl friend was given a two-year suspended sentence and fined IS750,000 yesterday by the Tel Aviv District Court.

The man, Yehoshua Bendit, 23, met his girl friend while they were both serving in the Israel Defence Forces. In October 1982, Bendit suggested to her that she have sexual relations with his friend David Albaz.

She refused but accompanied Bendit to Albaz's room, where she and Bendit started to make love. After she undressed, Bendit sudden-

ly left the room and Albaz entered the room and raped her.

When Bendit returned, he told her: "Don't be a baby and don't make a big fuss about this."

Albaz was tried for rape in a military court.

The three-judge panel, while calling Bendit's behaviour "rotten," noted in passing sentence that a long time had passed since the incident and that Bendit had since married and his wife is now pregnant. Moreover, they said, Bendit does not have a criminal record and there is no danger of his doing such a thing again.

New U.S. battalion to serve in Sinai force

WASHINGTON (AP) — The U.S. will send a fresh battalion of about 800 paratroopers to the Sinai desert for a six-month duty tour in the multinational force overseeing the Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement, under which the peninsula was returned to Egypt.

The 4th Battalion, 187th Infantry, 101st Airborne Division, of Fort Campbell, Kentucky, will replace the 1st Battalion, 325th Infantry, 82nd Airborne Division, of Fort

Bragg, North Carolina, later this month, the Defence Department announced on Wednesday.

It will be the sixth U.S. Army contingent to serve in the Sinai force since 1981.

About 350 other soldiers from various support units will also fly to Egypt for six months of service supporting the paratroopers in medical, logistics, maintenance and other tasks.

Shipping firm acquires seventh tanker

JERUSALEM POST REPORTER
HAIFA — The Gadot-Yam shipping company, a subsidiary of the Gadot chemicals and petrochemical group, has acquired a new tanker, the Chemical Contender.

The 8,000-ton vessel is the seventh tanker in the company's fleet, a spokeswoman announced.

The ship's stainless-steel tanks enable it to carry sulphuric acid from the Rotem plant in the Negev to the U.S. On the return journey its cargo

will include raw materials for the chemical and petrochemical industry.

Sailing under a flag of convenience, the vessel will be manned by an all Israeli crew of some 20 men, the spokeswoman said. The ship is due here for the first time today.

MAGIC — Israeli and foreign magicians are to appear at an international festival of magic planned for Acre in the near future.

20 indicted for village disturbances

ACRE (Itim) — Twenty residents of Deir Hanna were indicted in the Acre Magistrates Court yesterday for taking part in disturbances in the village last week, set off by a conflict between two clans.

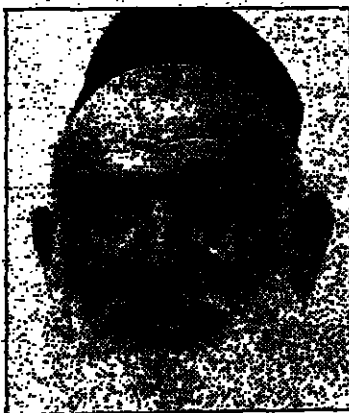
Judge Meir Duek has already sentenced three of the 37 villagers who were arrested. Ibrahim Hussein, 30, was fined IS35,000 and given a six-month suspended sentence. Hassan Hattat, 29, was fined IS30,000 and given four months suspended. Read Hattat, 28, was fined

IS17,000 and also given four months suspended.

The police are still looking for about 160 residents of Deir Hanna who are suspected of participating in the disturbances and who have run away from the village.

By yesterday morning, 30 women from the village who were wanted by the police for taking part in the disturbances had turned themselves in and were released after being questioned. The 10 men wanted by the

"...THE PARTY THAT IS MOST CAPABLE..."



Rabbi Arieh Binai, Rosh Yeshivat "Netiv Meir", Doyen of the Bnei Akiva Roshel Yeshivot.

Dear alumni of Bnei Akiva Yeshivot and Ulpapot, pupils and alumni of Yeshivot Hesder, parents, friends and acquaintances.

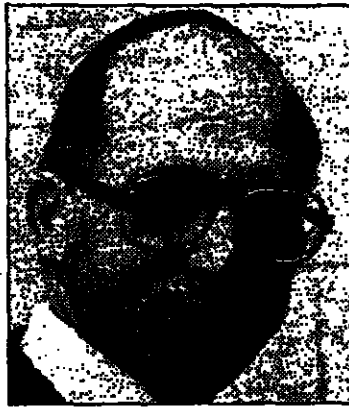
I feel a sacred duty to call upon every one of you to vote Mafdal in the forthcoming Knesset elections. Yes, to vote Mafdal, despite the fact that no harm would befall the movement if certain aspects of its operation were improved. Constructive criticism aimed at repairing the Mafdal's faults is important, but one should be ever mindful of the saying "Do not withhold good from him to whom it is due."

I have always found an open door and a sympathetic ear with the Mafdal representatives in the Knesset and Government. I know that other Yeshivot, too, have not returned empty-handed when they approached our representatives.

Those that broke away to graze in foreign pastures and to join other parties, felt that by so doing they were punishing the Mafdal. When they were conducting their soul searching, did they ask themselves what benefit the religious population would gain from these parties? This self-examination must be with the Mafdal and within the Mafdal. Even people who sought to punish the Mafdal by voting for other parties, still turn to our representatives in times of need — and they receive answers. And when problems arise in helping them, they are quick to blame our representatives, although it was they themselves who were the cause for our weakened strength.

We could have many more Knesset Members — both in terms of the real size of the religious Zionist population, and in terms of its great achievements in so many fields — were it not for factionalism and petty settling of accounts. There is no doubt in my mind: damaging the Mafdal means damaging our very substantial religious achievements — and let there be absolutely no illusions on this score!

There are some good people in "Morasha", but they should not be involved in politics. They should continue to be active in education where they can make a very valuable contribution. Spiritual leaders from the world of Torah have not always succeeded in the sea of politics. I appeal to all those concerned: explore every avenue that might bring about a dialogue aimed at disbanding the new list and uniting it with the Mafdal. A joint list can, B'ezrat HaShem, lead to a more substantial representation in the Knesset.



Rabbi Aharon Lichtenstein, Rosh Yeshivat Hesder "Har Etzion", Alon Shvut.

To demand that one blindly vote Mafdal without deliberation and without hesitation, runs counter to my education, my character, my way of thinking, and my work. Furthermore, I am highly critical of the composition of the present list of Knesset candidates (they may be good people, but are they the best available?); of the way it was chosen, which did not enhance democracy or religious Judaism; and of a lack of firmness and consistency in several important spheres, both spiritual and national.

Nevertheless, in the final analysis, my conclusion is that the Mafdal is preferable to any other alternative. The Mafdal represents the best chance for tackling the urgent spiritual, political and social problems that face us. The need to pursue a wise foreign policy while safeguarding the existence of the Torah Zionist political framework, is the determining factor for me. Our preoccupation, now and in the years to come, with "dinei nefashot" (in every sense) means that we have to support the party that is most qualified, regrettable problems notwithstanding, both in order to spread the Torah Zionist message, and in order to participate in the search for long-awaited peace — despite all the problems. This will enable us to thwart the danger of the religious parties being pushed aside by one of the major blocks seeking an overall majority. It will also strengthen the voice of the national religious voter who, by supporting his party, ensures that it plays a central role in the next government. Tomorrow, our task will be to improve and rehabilitate the party, to give it greater vision and renewed momentum. Today, however, our responsibility is to safeguard the Mafdal's existence and to increase its power.



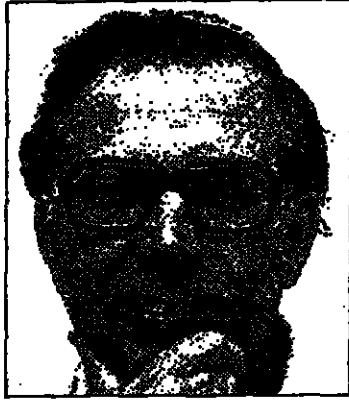
Rabbi Professor Emanuel Rackman, President of Bar Ilan University

After lengthy introspection, I have reached the conclusion that the Mafdal is the only party committed to fulfilling all my Zionist and religious aspirations.

There can be no separation between Zionism and Judaism; only a full genuine merging of the two can guarantee the future of the State of Israel and Israeli society.

Many parties are contesting these elections, including several who are seeking the support of the religious voter. But one party alone succeeds in properly combining the values of the Land of Israel, the People of Israel, and the Torah of Israel. And that party is the Mafdal.

So despite the justifiable charges made against the party, and the many issues that need attention, there is no alternative. Everything must be done to ensure that the Mafdal emerges strengthened so that it can best represent the ideal of religious Zionism.



Professor Moshe Bar-Asher, Jerusalem

Confusion reigns in the religious Zionist camp. Anyone wishing to vote for one of the three (four? five? six?) parties that are seeking the national religious population's vote, can find ample justification for so doing. And anyone wishing to cast a vote against will find even more good reasons.

Most of our accusations are directed — justifiably — towards the Mafdal. We must nevertheless look beyond the argument raging within the fold, and we would be well advised to listen to what they are saying outside. The Ma'arach is showing its true colours — the "historic alliance" — by declaring that it will do all in its power to form a government without the religious parties.

All the achievements of religious Zionism in education, settlement, and all other spheres of our lives are again in danger. There is a very real possibility that the religious population will find themselves beyond the pale.

However angry we may be, we must not play with fire. We have to unite around the Mafdal. The party that has remained faithful to all the values of religious Zionism. The party that does not reduce everything to one single issue.

NO IFS
OR BUTS
VOTE
MAFDAL

YOU NEED US IN GOVERNMENT.

N.R.P. — THE NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY FOR ISRAEL AND FOR YOU

Gandhi faces revolt by opposition leaders

NEW DELHI — Chief Ministers of four Indian states walked out of a key economic meeting with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi yesterday in the first move of a national "protect democracy" campaign.

They left at the start of a two-day meeting of the National Development Council (NDC), the country's highest economic policy-making body, and accused Gandhi and her ruling Congress (I) Party of manipulating the sacking of Jammu and Kashmir chief minister Mohammed Farooq Abdullah last week.

"We were forced to do this — democracy is at stake. We did this to safeguard the unity of the nation and to protect democracy," N.T. Rama Rao, chief minister of Andhra Pradesh, told reporters after the walkout.

Chief ministers from 22 states and Gandhi's top advisers were all at the meeting, called to map out strategy for the next five-year plan.

Abdullah told a news conference yesterday that India should have a democracy "not a dictatorship."

The walkout followed a meeting Wednesday of 19 opposition leaders, including the four chief ministers,

when they joined forces in a national campaign against Gandhi over Abdullah's sacking.

The four chief ministers — the others were from West Bengal, Tripura and Karnataka — said in a statement their action yesterday was a sign of the nation's wrath.

Abdullah said a measure of the support he still enjoyed was the heavy guard around the defecting parliamentarians' houses.

Abdullah yesterday accused the Congress (I) party yesterday of planning the hijacking of an Indian airliner from Kashmir to justify the toppling of his government.

The airliner, with more than 250 passengers, was hijacked by nine Sikh separatists who forced the plane to land in Lahore, Pakistan. They demanded withdrawal of the Indian Army from the Golden Temple in Amritsar and release of all Sikh prisoners, but gave up unconsciously.

Abdullah has been accused by the government and Gandhi's Congress Party of encouraging links with Sikh separatists and pro-Pakistan elements. (Reuters, AP)

Tehran closes portion of its main oil terminal

TEHRAN (Reuters). — Iran has closed part of its Kharg Island oil terminal on the gulf since it was slightly damaged in an Iraqi air attack, and has limited the size of tankers using the terminal, diplomats in Tehran said today.

The jetty was closed after an Iraqi Exocet missile hit the Greek tanker Alexander the Great while it was berthed on June 24, starting a small fire on the pier.

The diplomats said Iran had now limited the size of tankers calling at its main oil terminal to 300,000 tons which can use smaller berths in shallower water.

Oil minister Mohammad Gharazi said in a Tehran Radio interview recently Kharg had suffered "some

military problems," but added that exports had been unaffected.

Iran has threatened to close the gulf to all shipping if it is prevented from exporting its oil.

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein said Wednesday he was prepared for peace any time, but warned he would fight on "for seven or 10 years" if necessary to deter Iran from "committing aggression" against Iraq or any other Arab country.

"I would be pleased if peace were achieved, and at any time," he told a group of Egyptian politicians and journalists in Baghdad. "But Iraq will never allow Iran to commit aggression against Iraq or any other Arab country. This is our policy."

Italian minister resigns in scandal

ROME (AP). — An Italian cabinet minister implicated in a Masonic lodge scandal turned in his resignation to Premier Bettino Craxi yesterday in a move aimed at averting a government crisis.

"I did my duty in the face of a situation that could otherwise go out of control with great risks for our institutions," said Pietro Longo, leader of the tiny Social Democrat Party, after resigning as budget minister.

There was no immediate announcement from Craxi's office, but Longo said the Socialist premier

would assume Longo's portfolio until a replacement is found.

Longo, 48, had been under pressure to resign since May, when a parliamentary commission released a preliminary report on the Masonic lodge scandal.

The lodge has been accused of being a "state within a state" that aimed at destroying Italy's constitutional order. The membership included the names of generals, journalists, industrialists as well as politicians. Longo insists he was never a member of the lodge.

Vatican denies annulling Caroline's first marriage

VATICAN CITY (Reuters). — The Vatican has denied French television and magazine reports that it has granted Princess Caroline of Monaco an annulment of her first marriage.

Father Romeo Vanciroli, spokesman for the Holy See, said yesterday: "The news from France which says there is an annulment in relation to the first marriage of Caroline of

Monaco is false and without foundation."

An annulment in the Catholic Church is an official ruling that a marriage was never valid.

CARS. — There are nearly five cars to a family in Saudi Arabia's commercial capital of Jeddah, the highest such ratio in the world.

A Call by the Sixty Arab Candidates of the Progressive List for Peace to:

OUR JEWISH BRETHREN

We come to you with heartfelt words of peace, to offer to each a brother's hand, and to embark together on a new path.

For generations we have fought one another, people against people, till the earth is soaked with our blood and death governs our lives. Only he who has lost all humanity can make his peace with that devil in our midst, who is forever whispering in our ear — by your sword you shall live, so it has always been, so it is and so it will forever be.

We say no to this satanic advice.

For years our people have known only suffering, as if this were the dictate of fate. Most of the Palestinians are refugees, wanderers and outcasts. Others, more fortunate, live in their country, under the yoke of occupation. We, the most fortunate of all, are but second-class citizens, victims of prejudice and racism; our land has been taken from us, our culture expropriated, our national rights trampled on. Today we live under a regime of discrimination and deprivation.

All these are not the workings of blind destiny but the fruit of man's efforts. It is in the hands of man to bring forth evil or good from his labors.

Therefore, we have risen as one, to erase our humiliation, to raise our eyes and to see who is with us in our suffering, who is willing to join in our struggle and who stands against us. No longer, "two-legged animals," no longer "drugged roaches," neither a "cancer in the body politic" nor "terrorists," neither "hostile elements" nor "security risks" nor "minorities" — but people, human beings, just as yourselves, so are we. We are Palestinian citizens of Israel, proud of our past, confident in our future.

With our very first steps we have found partners, brothers in the joint struggle, Jewish citizens of Israel. They are called traitors, fifth columnists and self-hating Jews, but the truth is far different. They are loyal to their people, honest and upright citizens who have not succumbed to the evil spirit rampant in our land, neither "eye-gougers" nor "disembowlers," nor Cohen-Avidov, nor Neeman, nor Sharon, nor Eitan, but upholders of that democratic tradition which has characterized the best of Jewry through all generations.

The joint Jewish-Arab list, established through our mutual efforts, and our intense and frank discussions is not, however, enough. It must be strengthened and fortified so as to emerge as a political force capable of recasting the relations between our peoples and ensuring a future of peace, equality and freedom.

• **Peace:** A peace based on mutual respect between the Israeli-Jews and Palestinian-Arabs. A peace based on national self-determination. A peace between the State of Israel and the State of Palestine. We are firmly committed to our belief that such a peace is possible. The Palestinian Liberation Organization is willing to make peace. The official Israel is, however, adamant in its refusal. Do you agree to this refusal and to leaving your future in the hands of war-mongers? The matter is in your hands alone.

• **Equality:** Equality for all Israeli citizens, regardless of race, religion, ethnic origin or gender. We are especially concerned with our rights — the rights of the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel. We call on you to join us in our struggle for full equality. Experience has shown that in Israel, as elsewhere, discrimination and repression know no borders; the oppressor is also the oppressed. A people that oppresses another people cannot itself be free.

• **Freedom:** Freedom for the Israeli, from the webs of prejudice and racism which envelop him. Here, too, as we have learned from the experience of other peoples, prejudice and racism are a terrible evil undermining morality and distorting reason. The racist, like a blind man, goes on, until he falls.

In the name of the above, we approach you, our Jewish brothers. For years you have been taught that the Arabs wish you only evil and that "there is no-one to talk to." Well, now the moment of truth has arrived, the day of decision: for peace or war. No longer can anyone say, "there is no choice." There is a choice. There is someone to talk to, something to talk about. What is needed is only good-will and courage.

For our sake and for your own — do not leave our plea unanswered, do not leave us empty-handed.



Any among the readers answering our call are invited to visit our towns and villages, our homes are open. Connections: through the Tel Aviv office, telephone 03-859474, 03-862457, P.O.B. 31109, Tel Aviv.



Ferraro—Catholic, liberal and a woman

FOREST HILLS, New York (AP). — Geraldine Ferraro, a 48-year-old mother of three and member of the House of Representatives, was yesterday chosen by Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale as his candidate for vice-president. If the Democratic Party nominates her at its convention, she will be the first woman to run on a major U.S. political party presidential ticket.

A Roman Catholic and the daughter of Italian immigrants, Ferraro represents a working district in the Queens, a borough of New York City.

She was elected to the House in 1978. Her name surfaced last year when the idea of a woman as a vice-presidential candidate first came up.

It is not customary to campaign for the vice-presidential spot, but Ferraro let it be known that she was available for the job.

She was the favorite of the National Organization for Women, of some of her fellow congresswomen, and of House of Representatives Speaker Thomas O'Neill, one of the powerbrokers of the Democratic Party.

Ferraro earned an education degree in college, but got bored teaching. She then went to law school by night, teaching during the day.

After becoming a lawyer, she married John Zaccaro, now a real-estate developer. She practiced law from home for 13 years while raising three children.

She became a Queens assistant district attorney, specializing in cases of child abuse, domestic violence, rape, and crimes against the elderly.

Against the advice of friends and without the support of the county Democratic organization, she entered the race for the House and won.

In Congress, she made a hit with the men who run things. They installed her as secretary to the House Democratic Caucus, the panel that sets legislative priorities and makes committee assignments. Last year, she was named to the influential Budget Committee.

Ferraro is more liberal than her district, which voted substantially for Republican Ronald Reagan over Democratic incumbent Jimmy Carter in the 1980 presidential election. She supports the Equal Rights Amendment and, significantly for a Roman Catholic from a predominantly Catholic district, she votes for government-supported abortions for the poor.

Wolf Blitzer adds: Ferraro has been a down-the-line supporter of Israel in her six years in Congress.

She's 100 per cent, "a pro-Israeli lobbyist said after reviewing her record."

Ferraro's Queens district has a large Jewish population, and she has been a frequent speaker before Jewish groups in New York, and more recently, around the country. She has spoken at fund-raisers sponsored

by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the pro-Israel lobby on Capitol Hill.

According to her associates, she has often attended Friday night services at various synagogues in her district.

As a member of the house budget committee, she has been in the forefront in advancing the annual foreign aid appropriations bills for Israel.

She was an outspoken opponent of President Reagan's 1981 Awaacs package to Saudi Arabia.

More recently, she has been a co-sponsor of the legislation to move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and to establish a U.S.-Israeli free trade area.

"We're very pleased with the selection," said the pro-Israel lobbyist. "She's very sensitive to our concerns."

As reported in The Jerusalem Post on June 8, Ferraro has also become a member of Pioneer Women Na'amat, the women's Labour Zionist organization. In a speech before the group in New York, she explained why she supported moving the embassy to Jerusalem. "It seems to me, if that's the capital, then that's the capital."

Regarding the Golan Heights, she added: "There is no way that, if I were the prime minister of Israel, I would ever agree to it being given back to anyone."

A Mondale-Ferraro ticket is expected to do very well in the Jewish community.

Second coal-mine disaster claims 100 lives in Taiwan

TAIPEI (AP). — Rescue teams working through the night recovered 67 more bodies from a coal mine in northern Taiwan yesterday, raising the death toll in the disaster to 100, the highest in Taiwan's mining history.

Officials said 22 of the 125 men who were trapped in a tunnel in the mine Tuesday when a fire swept through the area had been rescued since Wednesday, and rescuers were pressing their search for the missing three.

Twelve of the survivors were in critical condition, suffering from carbon-monoxide poisoning or injuries sustained when sections of the tunnel collapsed, doctors said. They said the others were in surprisingly

good condition despite their ordeal.

The disaster at the Mei-shan coal mine, 50 kilometres northeast of Taipei, was the second mining mishap in three weeks. On June 20, 74 men were killed at the Hai-shan mine southeast of Taipei, in what was then Taiwan's worst mining accident.

Under orders from the government, all of Taiwan's 124 mines were closed yesterday for safety checks, and those found to be unsafe will be shut, officials said. They said President Chiang Ching-Kuo also had threatened severe punishment against any government official or mine executive found guilty of having ignored safety regulations.

Opposition tipped in New Zealand

WELLINGTON, New Zealand (AP). — Opposition leader David Lange said yesterday he will open New Zealand diplomatic offices in black Africa for the first time if his party wins tomorrow's general election.

The head of the New Zealand Labour Party, which holds a commanding lead in opinion polls and is expected to win, said his government would open two diplomatic offices in

black Africa to establish relations throughout the continent.

The party is strongly opposed to South Africa because of its white minority rule and has said it would require South African diplomats to leave the country if it comes to power.

Lange did not say where the offices would be established, but Labour Party officials have indicated Nigeria and Kenya are the leading choices.

Bonn warned not to make missiles

MOSCOW (Reuters). — The Soviet Union said yesterday it had warned Bonn not to take advantage of a decision by the West European allies to lift a ban on production of long-range bombers and conventional missiles by West Germany.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Vladimir Lomeiko told reporters a memorandum had been handed to the West German government on Wednesday expressing concern about the ruling and stating that any attempt to exploit it would have "negative consequences."

Libyans linked to Pakistani coup plot

ISLAMABAD (Reuters). — Pakistani military authorities have charged 41 people with conspiring in 1980 to overthrow the government with Libyan help, legal sources said yesterday.

They said 17 of the 41 were

The recently revived West European Union (WEU), grouping seven NATO states, voted last month to scrap a 1954 ban on production of long-range bombers and conventional missiles by West Germany.

The ruling lifted the last of the armaments restrictions imposed on Bonn after World War II.

The Soviet memorandum added that Bonn should "weigh carefully all those negative consequences that would arise" if it went ahead and started to make such armaments.

The meeting adds to the impression, encouraged by some officials of President Reagan's administration, that Moscow and Washington are increasing contacts in a number of areas even though key arms control negotiations remain suspended and overall relations remain cool.

Aquino panel reopens hearing

MANILA (AP). — A fact-finding board unexpectedly reopened its hearings on the Benigno Aquino assassination yesterday to hear a pastor's testimony, but said it has given up the idea of exhuming the former senator's body because of Aquino family objections.

A Church of Christ pastor disputed the testimony of Manila businessman Augusto Floresca, who had said he saw Aquino being shot by alleged communist agent Rolando Galman.

The board held a brief public session and then went back into seclusion. Chairwoman Corazon Agrava said it would be "very difficult" for the board to meet its self-imposed August 21 deadline for issuing its final report.

Aquino was shot at the Manila Airport last August 21 on his return from exile in the U.S. Floresca said he was at the airport waiting for a flight and saw the killing through a window.

The Aquino family says Aquino was shot by a soldier and has accused President Ferdinand Marcos of involvement. It said Galman was merely a "fall guy."

U.S., Soviets resume 'hot line' talks

WASHINGTON (AP). — Delegations from the U.S. and Soviet Union quietly resumed talks last week aimed at modernizing of the "hot line" that for the last 21 years has given the leaders of the two countries a private channel for crisis communications.

The hot line was created after the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, and still operates on a 66-word-per-minute teletypewriter.

Because each side had long-range nuclear missiles that could strike within 30 minutes, the two nations agreed that they needed to be able to rapidly defuse a crisis and prevent atomic war through miscalculation or accident.

The meeting adds to the impression, encouraged by some officials of President Reagan's administration, that Moscow and Washington are increasing contacts in a number of areas even though key arms control negotiations remain suspended and overall relations remain cool.

Sports

Lamb the tiger

LEEDS (Post Sports Staff, Agencies). — An unbeaten century by South African-born batsman Alan Lamb enabled England to reach 237 for 6 yesterday when play was abandoned for the day because of bad light Thursday, first day of the third Test match against the West Indies at Headingley.

Lamb's century was his second straight ton for England and came in 218 minutes. It included 14 fours.

He was exactly 100 not out when the players came off for bad light 45 minutes before the scheduled close.

Derek Pringle was the other not out batsman on one.

Although neither side established a clear advantage after an enthralling day's play, the dreaded West Indies attack has been weakened by the loss of Malcolm Marshall, the quickest of their four fast bowlers. The Barbadian is expected to be sidelined for three weeks after fracturing his left thumb in two places while attempting to stop a fierce shot in the gully during the morning session.

Earlier, England had made a disastrous start, after Gower, winning the toss, elected to bat. Geoff Fowler went for 10, inexplicably failing to take a stroke to Joel Garner to go

1.b.w. Paul Terry, the 25-year-old Hampshire batsman making his debut, was magnificently caught by Roger Harper at third slip when he had made 8. Poor David Gower, the captain, judging a ball would go over the stumps, played no stroke to Garner, and was given out 1.b.w. for 2-harshly, according to the television commentators. He has made only 48 in five innings against the West Indies. The score was then 53 for 3.

All this time Chris Broad, who opened, had been resisting the attack stoutly but confidently. He and Lamb stopped the rot, and gradually mastered the attack until Broad eventually went out for 32.

Then Ian Botham came in. He introduced himself with a ferocious hook to the boundary off Holding, but mistimed the next ball, and was lucky to be dropped by Baptiste. Botham celebrated the let-off by hooking two more fours, and "on driving another. Eventually, with the score at 175, Botham was unlucky to get a high bouncer from Baptiste that clipped his glove and was taken by wicketkeeper Dujin Derek Downton then played another characteristically gritty innings to enable Lamb to continue the taming of the fiery West Indians.

High wind for Samoa

ABERDEEN (AP). — The South Pacific island of Western Samoa caused a major upset in the world lawn bowls when its players beat one of the favorites, Scotland, in the World Championships yesterday.

Scotland's Willie Wood and David Gourlay, who both won gold medals in the 1982 Commonwealth games, were beaten by Falei Retama and Ioapo Ioaso.

The Scots had been trailing for most of the match but looked like picking up three shots at the final stage until the Western Samoans played the last shot.

It was enough to reduce the Scots' final stage tally to one shot, which meant Scotland lost the match. Wood said: "I am absolutely convinced that their final bowl of the match was going to finish short."

Horses vs. smog

LONDON (Reuters, AP). — Britain's equestrian team will be taking oxygen masks to the Olympics to help the horses cope with the notorious Los Angeles smog, a team veterinarian said yesterday.

Peter Scott-Burn, who has looked after Britain's horses at five previous Olympics, said the squad would also be equipped with an anti-smog drug that the horses would inhale if they had difficulty breathing.

"I have spoken to the vets in Los Angeles, and with good care and management, we should be all right," he said.

If Los Angeles' chronic air pollution does hinder a horse's breathing, an oxygen mask will be placed over its mouth and it will inhale pure oxygen for a few seconds.

"The horses should suffer no ill-effects from the California heat, un-

less there is a real heat-wave," Scott-Burn said.

A horse will work in high temperatures, but the speed it works at has to be reduced.

The horses will not have to put up with the torrid heat of Central Los Angeles. Show jumping events will be staged in Santa Anita, which is close to the coast and cooled by sea breezes.

Meanwhile, a "heavy smog" virus has caused the death of five horses at a boarding and training establishment in California. But this shouldn't prevent a threat to Olympic equestrian participants, veterinarians said.

The veterinarians indicated that isolation procedures will keep the Olympic animals out of any potential smog zone.

"The Olympic horses are going to be well isolated from others in Los Angeles," said Dr. James Kowarsky, the Federal veterinarian in charge of Veterinary Service of the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Office of Veterinary Medicine.

"They'll probably be the safest horses in the city."

Tour de France

CHATEAU DE ROURET, France. — Fern De Wolf of Belgium won the 14th stage of the Tour de France cycle race over 227 kilometres from Roubaix yesterday.

Cricket in Ramle

By JACK LEON
Post Sports Reporter

RAMLE. — A combined United Nations cricket team, made up of West Indian players serving in the area, will tomorrow play a local side of the Young Ramle Cricket Club ground, with wickets being pitched at 2.30 a.m. The 50-over match is being held under the patronage of Jerusalem's Jaffa, of Ramle, and the sides will compete for the newly-named "Playboy Flooding Trophy."

The local side will be led by top Israeli batsman, Isaac Solomon, of the local club, who is sponsoring what is planned as a monthly series of games between the two sides, each played at a different venue.

Suns, Nets coming

TEL AVIV (Item). — Two famous NBA basketball teams, the Phoenix Suns and the New Jersey Nets, are scheduled to come to Israel at the end of August to play exhibition games billed as "Basketball from another world," at Yad Eliyahu.

On August 28, the Suns will play Hapoel Tel Aviv, and the Nets will take on Maccabi Tel Aviv. On August 30, the two teams will play each other for a cup presented by Mayor Shlomo Lahat on behalf of the Tel Aviv Municipality.

The games are sponsored by "Hadesport/Hapoel" to mark the 30th anniversary of the founding of the paper and the 75th anniversary of Tel Aviv.

HADASH Shows the Way to Peace, Security, and Economic and Social Rehabilitation

The show on TV goes on and you, the viewer, are hard put to distinguish between the Likud and the Labour Alignment. They say very similar things, and you can't believe either of them. They use comedians to put their message over, but the Knesset elections are a serious matter.

The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash)

was the only faction in the Knesset that opposed the war in Lebanon.

The Labour Alignment supported the war and is responsible, with the Likud, for the victims and for the economic, social and moral destruction it has caused. They also do not wish to withdraw the army from Lebanon since, with the Americans, they are planning another war, an attack on Syria from Lebanon.

Hadash demands the immediate withdrawal of the IDF from the mire of Lebanon.

This is Israel's real interests.

Hadash, which unites Communists and non-Communists, Jews and Arabs, offers a new policy: instead of wars, instead of serving a foreign power, the USA, a policy of peace, independence, and recognition by Israel on a reciprocal basis of the Palestinian state that will be set up on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. The only way to achieve such a peace is the convening of an international conference, under the aegis of the United Nations, and with the participation of all parties to the dispute, including Israel and the PLO, and also the USSR and the USA.

Only such a peace can give Israel security and allow a significant reduction in our military expenditure, which is destroying our economy, forcing cuts in the health and educational services, and fanning the galloping inflation.

The neighbouring Arab states and the PLO are ready for such a just peace. It also represents the view of the great majority of the members of the United Nations.

In order to end government by the Likud, and create conditions for a basic change in Israel's policy, in favour of peace, equality and social progress — give your vote to Hadash!

VOTE הצביעו

Elections Headquarters:
P.O.B. 4885, Tel Aviv
Tel. 03-229222, 02-222457,
04-863780

Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash)
(Israeli Communist Party, the Black Panthers, and Public Groups of Jews and Arabs)

Servis Your month of Volunteer National Service in Israel

Judea • Shomron • Jordan Valley • Golan

Are You Against:

- U.S. Anti-Sentiment Policy?
- The Reagan Plan?
- Pressure to Give Up Israeli Territory?

Then come show your solidarity with the settlement movement. Sign up to join those who will be working for 2-4 weeks this summer in new settlements in Judea, Samaria, Gaza and the Golan, in agriculture, archaeology and construction.

- Experience the excitement and challenge of building the land.
- Live in Israel's newest settlements.
- Meet Knesset leaders.
- Tour Biblical Eretz-Yisrael and discover its pioneer spirit.

Registration and Solidarity Rally, Tuesday, July 17, 1984 (simultaneously in Israel and New York). In Jerusalem: 8:30 p.m., opposite American Consulate, 18 Agon St.

In New York: 12 noon, 2nd Avenue and 46th St. across from the U.N. National service registration and processing (including medical check), may be completed on the spot. Call now! Israel:

Daniel Gavron and David Landau observe Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin on the campaign trail

The model of loyalty



SOME POLITICIANS genuinely enjoy pressing the flesh, bussing the babies, getting out among the people. Most of those who don't enjoy it manage to look as though they do.

Yitzhak Rabin is one of a small third group — those who neither enjoy this part of their job nor make any pretence of enjoying it.

Striding through the streets and shopping arcades of town after town on the campaign trail, Rabin's demeanour is stoic, his smile wooden, his small-talk nonexistent.

For him, Labour's Polaroid camera gimmick has been a veritable salvation. It saves him the need to launch into quick conversations, to think of bright and witty things to say, to parry jibes with ready wit.

Instead, he need only pose, with his distant and diffident look, gums stuck in his belt as always, emanating a certain underlying toughness.

Ten vicissitudinous years after his catapult into politics, popularity still eludes him. And he, to give him his due, does not deign to seek it.

Ten years ago, on the day he took office as premier, someone suggested that he go from the Knesset to the Western Wall, photographers in tow, to offer a prayer. The idea was curiously cut down (even though wowing the National Religious Party into the coalition was then a top priority).

"That's not me," Rabin said, setting himself a standard which politicians would consider impolitic, if not impossible.

PERHAPS IT IS this very straightforwardness that has earned Rabin the remarkable respect in which he is held. He is not a "king of Israel"; he is not even particularly liked; but he is widely and profoundly respected. The opinion polls have shown this for years, and the campaign trail confirms it.

He is not a man to mess with. Even the most half-witted hecklers seemed to think twice and three before mouthing a hesitant "yalla Beitar" or "rak Likud".

Perhaps the high regard for Yitzhak Rabin reflects people's retrospective reappraisal of his premiership. With every passing year, the Rabin term (1974-7) stands out more clearly as a period of military recovery, economic stability, and diplomatic progress — in all, a successful period for Israel, especially compared to what went before, and what came after.

In his straightforwardness, in his refusal to mouth the meaningless promises that are the stock-in-trade of pre-election walkabouts, Rabin is sometimes almost callous.

In a working-class suburb of Kiryat Gat this week, a man thrust a wad of tattered official letters under

Rabin's nose and poured out a resentful story of his long wrangle with the local council and the police. Rabin, obviously bored, drily responded that such local matters must be dealt with by the local council and the police.

Later the same day, outside Kiryat Gat's palatial Bank Hapoalim, Rabin was accosted by another insistent citizen with another hard-luck story of overcrowding and inadequate housing. "Would he come and see for himself?" she asked. No. Would he do something about it? No promises.

NO PROMISES is the watchword in his platform speeches, too. No surfeit of sanguinity — no matter how tempting or expedient it might be to raise bright hopes.

Thus, withdrawal from Lebanon "is not something that can happen overnight, or in a month," he declares dourly. And nothing is to be expected by way of progress in the peace process until 1985, after the U.S. election. And even then, "who knows if Hussein will come?"

These same thoughts could just as well have been put in a positive and encouraging way — that Labour has practical plans to expedite the IDF's departure from Lebanon; that a Labour government will use the months before the U.S. election for diplomatic groundwork prior to a new push on the peace front.

Indeed, that is how Rabin expounded his thoughts, at length, in a private conversation. But then that is the classic Yitzhak Rabin: trenchant, profound, confident and inspiring confidence — in private conversations. More laboured, infinitely cautious, in public.

Not that his rhetorical skills have not improved markedly, as he himself is pleased to acknowledge. His set-piece election-rally address, which he delivers nightly, while not Ciceroian, is a very far cry from the droning, litany-like delivery to which he accustomed the country as premier.

By repeating key-words, and pausing momentarily before hammering home his main messages, he makes the best use of his deep voice. His aides say he was not coached, but worked on his style himself.

He has also worked up some rather effective lines which he carefully includes in every appearance: "I served in the army for 27 years, from a private in the Palmah to chief of staff. (Applause) If I'm not in the 'National Camp' (Hamahane Haleumi — Likud's ill-advised early campaign slogan), then I don't know who is."

"I do not mention at political meetings the sacrifice of lives (in Lebanon), which is the really tragic cost of all the wars" (thereby mentioning it — at a political meeting); "On April 4, 1982, Peres, Bar-Lev

and I, each in our own way, told them (Begin, Sharon and Shamir) that the 'grand design' war-plan for Lebanon was madness, a delusion, chasing pipe-dreams."

His few attempts at humour invariably fall flat. But he persists with one particularly black, almost crude line: "We indirectly encouraged Hussein to destroy the terrorists. He knows how to destroy them. Look how he did it in Jordan in 1970 — and look at us in Lebanon..." (Embarrassed silence from largely pro-Labour audiences; smattering of pro-Likud listeners anyway unimpressed.)

The best laugh of the week on the Rabin campaign trail, however, came not from the candidate himself but from 11-year-old Gabi Knafo, of Kiryat Gat, who, asked to identify the visitor to his district, replied unhesitatingly, "Shimon Peres."

"A reflection of the harmony between them," said Rabin's aide, Yossi Kutshik.

And, true enough, Rabin has been the very model of loyalty and deference. And Peres of courtesy and respect, these past three months — ever since they together headed off Yitzhak Navon's putative challenge for the leadership.

Will the idyl last if and when...? Labour's answer came from an elderly supporter in Petah Tikva this week: "M'zol shoin halm derbi!" — Let's get to that stage already! DANIEL LANDAU

Calm and confident



SHIMON PERES still provokes some hostility and he doesn't evoke affection as Menachem Begin did and Yitzhak Navon still does. But his dogged professionalism appears to be winning a grudging respect. He will never set the crowds cheering, dancing in the streets, or chanting his name in ecstasy; but he is coming over as a calm, confident, authoritative leader, capable of pulling the country out of its current mess.

Paradoxically the old talent that he is a mere blusterer, a doer lacking in ideology, is standing him in good stead. The crowds seem tired of ideology, suspicious of charisma. They do not cheer Peres; but they clap him solidly, as if they have confidence in him; as if they know that he may not be an inspiring leader, but potentially a competent managing-director of the nation.

Peres seems to be holding back his confidence. One can understand this, even if it is difficult to like him. After the bitter experiences of 1977 and 1981, the prospect of victory is sweet indeed.

It is different from 1981, when the Labour leader was heckled, abused, sometimes even roughed up, and frequently prevented from getting a hearing. There are still those who try to disrupt; but they are so small a minority that he is generally able to deal with them.

"We are not wrapping him in cotton-wool," insists aide Baruch Askarov. "He is meeting the people face-to-face and winning their support. There is some shouting; but after a bit, the interrupters are left with nothing to say."

A day with Peres broadly confirms this statement. It does not mean, of course, that he is going to win. What it does mean is that, if he wins, he will not be a divisive leader (as seemed to be the case last time around), and he should be able to mobilize national support.

ZICHRON YA'ACOV, one of the old moshavot, which has become a small town on the Carmel south of Haifa, is not exactly a traditional stronghold of Labour Zionism. Its First Aliya founders were never part of the Labour Movement, and the immigrants of the 1950s, who make up the rest of its population, are a part of the Begin constituency.

Nevertheless, Peres is greeted with genuine enthusiasm when he arrives in the town. His supporters, many of them youngsters in Alignment T-shirts and eyeshades, cluster round as he emerges from his car.

He plunges enthusiastically into the crowd of mostly young voters, beaming and pumping hands. "Are you going to vote for us? Thank you very much."

There is also a sprinkling of veterans, white-haired women and old farmers. One young mother holds up her daughter, asking, "What is the Alignment?" On cue, the little girl replies: "The hope!" And the Labour leader doesn't disguise his pleasure.

Zichron Ya'acov swelters in the mid-afternoon heat; but Peres looks cool and fresh. He has already met with a group of American Jewish leaders in his bureau, chaired a meeting of the Alignment executive, and been through a gruelling session at the Herzliya television studio, preparing for his confrontation with Prime Minister Shamir. But he is still full of energy.

The Alignment's TV song welcomes him into the Rothschild Park, where he runs into his first opposition. A stocky man, with a jet-black mustache, replies with a firm "No!"

To the query whether he is going to vote for the Alignment, the man replies: "That is your right," replies Peres cheerfully. "We respect our opponents."

This is the theme he develops as he launches into his first speech before several hundred spectators. "We are going to wage this campaign without hatred, without division, with mutual respect, with a genuine dialogue concerning our different beliefs."

He wins applause for this, but also some cat-calls. Half a dozen youths wearing Likud T-shirts begin heckling. Alignment supporters push them to the back of the crowd. The police hastily position themselves between the jostling rivals; but the clash does not develop beyond some pushing and shoving.

Aware of what is happening, Peres raises his voice: "We have the impression that neither Sephardim nor Ashkenazim want this campaign to divide them on ethnic lines. We went into the dispersion several centuries ago; but now we have come back united. We are not two peoples without a path; but one people with two alternative paths — and you must decide which path you agree with."

One of the hecklers starts shouting: "What did you say to Navi, then? What did you tell Navi?" He is referring to an occasion in the 1981 campaign, when Peres allegedly told Beersheba Mayor Eliahu Navi that there were "enough Iraqis" on the

Alignment Knesset list. The heckler never receives an answer to his query — even in a face-to-face confrontation after the speech.

All this is, of course, just the introduction to the main pitch, which is on the economy. The Likud government, says Peres, spent \$9 billion on three things: settlement of Judea and Samaria, the war in Lebanon and "the insane economic policies of Yoram Aridor."

One can understand the Likud putting money into settlement, he allows. But after spending \$3.5b, they only succeeded in settling a further 15,000 Jews on the West Bank. The Peace for Galilee war was justified and Labour had supported it, he asserts, but why had the fighting been extended beyond the first 40 kilometres?

His main barbs are reserved for Aridor. Why, he demands, does Israel have to import orange juice

from South Africa? Aren't Israeli oranges tasty? Isn't the lime of Zichron Ya'acov as good as that of Rumania?

Turning to foreign affairs, he pledges that the Jordan River will be Israel's eastern security border and "no Arab soldier will be permitted to cross it." On the other hand, the Alignment is not going to annex over a million Arabs in the territories.

Even today, Israel's Arabs could elect 12 Knesset members, he asserts. If Gaza and the West Bank became part of Israel, they could elect 45 to 50 MKs. "What sort of Knesset would it be? Jewish, Zionist?"

UNDERSTANDABLY, perhaps, the Alignment leader does not use this line in Jizir al-Zarka, an Arab village south-east of Zichron Ya'acov. The Arab crowd is more disciplined, better behaved than the Jewish one, as the gruff tones of Mayor Morad Amash welcome Peres. He makes a plea for Jewish-Arab coexistence, while acknowledging recent progress in the community: a school, a clinic, a football pitch.

Peres takes some of the credit for the Kupat Holim clinic and the new school, built, he says, at the urging of Nava Arad in the Knesset Education Committee. But he wins the greatest applause when mentioning the football pitch and expressing the hope that the village team will make it into the Second League.

There are a few older men wearing galabiyas; but the all-male crowd is overwhelmingly middle-aged and young, dressed in jeans and open-necked shirts. One bearded young man keeps shouting at Peres. But he smiles and shuts up, when told to do so by his neighbours in the crowd. Working my way over to him, I ask him what he was shouting about.

A neatly-dressed, trim man, Mahmoud tells me that he was accusing Peres of only taking an interest in election time. He ridicules the idea that the Alignment can take credit for the school and football pitch.

Is he then a Likud supporter? No, he replies. "Shulamit Aloni, only Shulamit Aloni." Then he smiles and adds, "Of course that is also the Alignment, really."

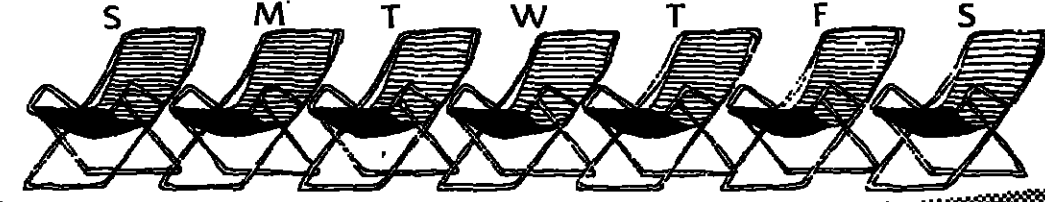
On political matters, Peres tells

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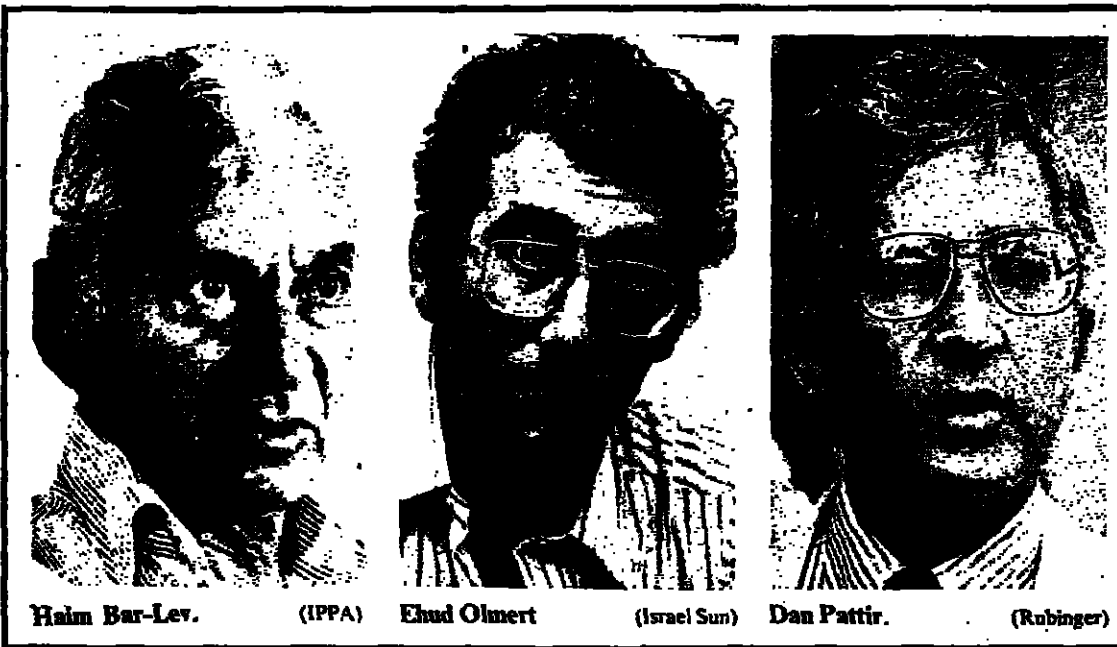
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A voice of doubt in Labour

PUBLIC FACES / Mark Segal



Haim Bar-Lev.

(IPFA)

Ehud Olmert

(Israel Sun)

Dan Pattir.

(Rubinger)

THE CONFIDENT tone at 110 Rehov Hayarkon is not shared by all of the Labour Alignment's top men. For instance, Haim Bar-Lev, the party's secretary-general, is less optimistic than his colleagues. At a rally this week for Druse activists in Issafiya, Bar-Lev was told what was expected of a Labour government. Replied Bar-Lev: "You seem to be certain that Labour will form the next government. I'm not. If there is a gap of only three to five seats between Labour and the Likud, Yitzhak Shamir will be asked to form the next cabinet."

Nevertheless, many people inside Labour are acting as if the results were already in the bag, and are dividing up the spoils. Some posts certainly have been promised by party leader Shimon Peres — defence to Yitzhak Rabin, foreign affairs to Yitzhak Navon, and information to Abba Eban, with Navon and Eban also becoming deputy premiers.

Other talked-about allocations include health, transport or social affairs for Mapam's two cabinet nominees, Dov Peleg and Eliezer Rosen. Mordechai (Motta) Gur, the Alignment's campaign chief, would almost certainly be in a Peres cabinet, though it is not clear in what capacity, and Bar-Lev has expressed an interest in interior affairs.

While party economic spokesman Gad Ya'acobi has his eyes on the Treasury, it is said that Peres might hand it over to Ezer Weizman, if the former defence minister's Yahad party makes a strong showing on July 23. Another possible coalition partner whose name is being mooted at Labour HQ is Amnon Rubinstein of Shinui, in connection with the Justice Ministry.

Until the votes are counted and the coalition calculations are begun, the Education Ministry job will remain up in the air. Of course, the NRP entry into a Labour coalition would probably result in that job going to incumbent Zevulun Hammer. Another possible choice is Ora Namir, current chairman of the Knesset Education Committee and the acknowledged front-runner for a cabinet post among the Labour women.

Isn't this all just a little premature? My Labour sources insist that

there's nothing wrong with getting ready to run the country, especially considering their movement's considerable manpower resources.

SPECULATION has gone so far as to include some members of a possible staffing of the Prime Minister's Office under Peres. According to my sources, two media men are in line for the top jobs. They are Amiram Nir, the former military correspondent of Israel TV who is currently a top-ranking member of Peres's personal staff, as *chef de bureau*, and Matti Golan, a top news executive at *Ha'aretz* (and Peres's biographer) as director-general. Contacted on Wednesday, Golan told *The Post* that he had not been in touch with Peres, and that he wondered who had been spreading the rumours.

Another key job is ambassador to Washington. I have been told that the top choices include Haim Zadok, the former justice minister, and Asher (Arthur) Ben-Natan, who has already been our country's envoy in both Bonn and Paris.

LIKUD MK Ehud Olmert has moved into a starring role in his party's TV warfare. He got a lot of compliments for knocking Labour off-balance by putting Shoshana and Lisa Peretz of Kiryat Shmona on TV. His increasingly close relationship with Shamir was capped this week — he, and not Ronnie Milo, was the premier's only aide when the Great Debate was filmed at the Kfar Hamaccabiah studios.

THE THIRD MAN on our Tuesday night TV screens, Dan Pattir, was in the sunny Caribbean when he learned that he had been chosen to act as moderator in the *mano a mano* confrontation. Pattir, on a combination lecture tour-vacation, was informed of his choice in a long-distance phone call from his Tel Aviv University Latin lecturer wife, Yaak. He returned to Washington in time to be officially asked, by the Likud's Dan Meridor, to take the TV role.

When I contacted Pattir after the debate, he said that it was "almost inhuman to expect the two leaders to properly answer questions on such complicated issues in only two minutes." The former press counsellor to prime ministers Yitzhak Rabin and Menachem Begin says he would allow the debaters much more time, as is done in the U.S. presidential election.

Before flying home via Paris (all El Al flights were full), Pattir spent several days at the Library of Congress, viewing videotapes of the John F. Kennedy-Richard M. Nixon debate and talking to ex-moderators, like Ted Koppel. Pattir will spend a month at home before returning to Washington, where he is a visiting scholar at the Georgetown University Centre of Strategic and International Studies. Pattir has taped more than 2,000 interviews for his upcoming book on the Camp David process.

LABOUR HQ's decision to install hawkish kibbutz MK Avraham Katz-Oz as the man in charge of the non-party pro-Labour campaign organization has raised eyebrows. The group includes such well-known figures as industrialists David Mosevitz and Avraham Akroff, newsmen Michael Ekshis, and Dr. William Wester of B'nai B'rith International. We wonder how Katz-Oz, a prime proponent of the Golan Heights "annexation" law, gets along with the dovish Mosevitz.

KNESSET SPEAKER Menachem Savidor has just returned home from a round of farewell appearances. First he filled in for Yitzhak Navon at a London Hillel Foundation benefit. Then he and his wife Riva, head of publicity for World WIZO, accompanied old friend Winifred Ewing, the only Scottish Nationalist member of the European Parliament, on a victory tour of the Scottish High-

lands. According to Savidor, Ewing is the leading voice for Soviet Jewry at the Strasbourg sessions.

The Speaker's itinerary then took him to Oslo, for a mini-session of the Council of Europe.

FARM BLOC. A large number of kibbutzniks have joined moshav owner Rafael (Rafal) Elman on the Tehiya list. They include party No. 5 Gershon Shefet (Ein Tzurim), No. 7 Ephraim Ben-Haim (Givat Haim-Meuhad) and No. 8 Eliezer Argaman (Hania). Tehiya spokesman Yosef Harmoni comes from Kibbutz Ayelet Hashahar, and the most prominent Labour name on the list of party backers belongs to Ahuvia Tabeskin of Kibbutz Ein Harod (Meuhad), son of the late Ahud Ha'avoda ideologue Yitzhak Tabeskin.

THE GUEST LIST at Avshalom Gissin's North Tel Aviv penthouse,

at a party honouring Austrian Jewish tycoon Peter Landessman and his wife Ellen, may have represented more than five per cent of our GNP. Among those present were chemical industrialist Benjamin Chorley and his wife Tamar, a prominent figure in World WIZO; Yoram Gil, one of a group currently seeking control of FIBI; citrus grove magnate Avraham Ackerman; real estate millionaire Zvi Abrahamovitch; Prof. Itamar Rabinovich, of Tel Aviv University; Dr. Amihud Helfman, the Tel Aviv district health officer; and Aluf-Mishne Benjamin Machnes.

WHILE MOST ISRAELIS are absorbed in our own election campaign, two American-Israelis are off to San Francisco for the Democratic National Convention, which begins on Monday. David Froelich and Shirley Olman will represent Democrats Abroad at the convention, which is virtually certain to nominate Walter Mondale as the party's choice to oppose President Ronald Reagan in November. Prior to Mondale's choice of Rep. Geraldine Ferraro of New York as his vice-presidential running-mate yesterday, Froelich had intended to support Mayor Dianne Feinstein of San Francisco for the second spot on the party's ticket.

OUTSPOKEN U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Jeane Kirkpatrick recently flew to Geneva to address a Tel Aviv University dinner. The ambassador received a special university medal from TAU vice-president Yosef Carmel.

THE SHAMIR-PERES debate diverted the attention of some guests at Tuesday night's reception for the Dutch National Ballet, at the Herzliya residence of Dutch Ambassador Maarten van Berckel and his wife Coenstance. After meeting the dancers, artistic director Rudi van Dantzig and choreographer Hans van Manen, the more politically minded slipped into the ambassador's study to view the confrontation on TV.

BIRTHDAY GUESTS at a party for sculptress Ilana Gur, hosted by Old Jaffa gallery owner Horace Richter, included the birthday girl's brother, heart surgeon Danny Gur, intelligence man-turned-industrialist Benjamin Gibli; Herut hotelier Haim Schiff; Eliezer Shamael, director-general of the Education Ministry; ambassador-turned-financial-consultant Amiel Najjar and his wife Aviva; Super-Pharm drug chain owner Leon Kofler; and Yona Kilmovitzky, longtime personal secretary to Menachem Begin.

NOW THAT the transfer of British Ambassador Patrick Moberly (of Pretoria) has been made official, the envoy and his wife Mary are running the gauntlet of farewell parties. Recent send-offs for the Moberlys include parties thrown by Monaco consul-general Edith Rojansky, and the Israel Cancer Association party given by Suzy Eban, at the Ramat Hasharon residence of Canadian Ambassador Vernon Turner and his wife Beryl.

Moberly was in Jerusalem this week, to receive from Minister of Communications Mordechai Zipori a first-day issue of the Orde Wingate memorial stamp. The stamp is to be placed in the official collection of Queen Elizabeth II.

PARTY TIME. Yohanan Boehm, *The Post's* music editor for almost three decades, was the guest of honour at a surprise 70th birthday party last night. Boehm, who is also a composer, was at the Jerusalem Theatre for a Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra performance of his *Divergence* for Winds. The party was co-sponsored by the Jerusalem Municipality, for which he had served as music adviser; the Alyn Hospital; the Broadcasting Authority; and *The Jerusalem Post*. Among many friends and colleagues attending were Gideon Lev-Ari, the Kol Yisrael director; JSC director Yehuda Fickler and Dr. Shirley Meir, the head of Alyn. A large delegation from the musical community was headed by conductors Gary Bertini and Mendi Rodan, and soprano Cilla Grossmeyer.



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Amit High School, Kiryat Ata
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سكزا من الاصل

Haim Shapiro attends a Shas meeting in Pardes Katz, which was addressed by Rabbi Ovadia Yosef (below)



FOR MOST Israelis, the political event of the week was the television debate between Yitzhak Shamir and Shimon Peres. But for one hundred odd residents of Pardes Katz, near Tel-Aviv, it was the appearance of former Sephardi chief rabbi Ovadia Yosef in a shabby, unfinished local synagogue.

Shas - the Sephardi Tora Guardians - is running in national elections for the first time. And it promises that it will produce a surprise showing. Political observers expect Shas to walk off with two of the four mandates now held by Agudat Yisrael, but judging by their relatively strong showing in the Jerusalem municipal elections last fall, they believe they can do far better.

Part of the reason for the surprise at their strength is that they seem to be maintaining a low profile - no demonstrations, no activists in the centre of town. They work where they are not seen - in the neighbourhoods of the poor and in the development towns.

Shas was born out of the Sephardi revolt against Agudat Yisrael, which for years counted on pious Sephardim for votes but excluded them from the ranks of power.

They are particularly better because while vast sums of money went from the government to yeshivot as part of the coalition agreement with

THE PARTY FAITHFUL

Agudat Yisrael, Sephardi institutions remained neglected, often desperately poor.

Right now, though, Shas leaders are playing down the rift with the Aguda. And, indeed, the two parties have concluded a surplus vote pact.

"We don't see ourselves as breaking away from Agudat Yisrael," says Amram Melloul, head of the party's yeshiva student division. "We believe in the same ideology and we believe in the same things. We're just closer to our community. We speak the same language and they will accept it from us."

ALTHOUGH IT APPEARS that most of the Shas leaders are Iraqi (rather than North African) Melloul's grandfather is a famous Moroccan rabbi after whom a kollel in Bnei Brak is named.

Melloul dismisses Tami - the party generally associated with the traditional North African vote - because it has no rabbinical guidance. Tami, he says, has been a disappointment: it did little to help the Sephardi community after it entered the Knesset in the last elections.

Shas's power, he says, will come from the Tora circles and from youth clubs and programmes for disadvantaged youth in the Sephardi community.

It is Sephardim who make up the majority of pupils in the Aguda-run independent education institutions, which are government funded. And if such institutions had members of the Oriental communities in charge, the Sephardim might not have felt it necessary to create a special list.

But, he adds, the rabbis say that the Sephardim are now strong enough and important enough to have their own list. In fact, although Ovadia Yosef is usually considered the spiritual head of the party, the rabbi whose name is most often invoked is Rabbi Eliezer Schach, the 89-year-old former head of the Agudat Yisrael Council of Sages.

At a rally for yeshiva students last week, Rabbi Shimon Ba'adani, a member of the party's rabbinical council, stressed that if Schach had not given his approval, the party would not have come into being.

Those attending, wearing the uni-

form of dark suit and white shirt, beard and no sidelocks, broke into good-natured chuckles at the speaker's occasional use of a Yiddish phrase. Most of them had, at one point or another, attended an Ashkenazi institution.

One of those present is Motti, a 26-year-old graduate of a hesder yeshiva (which combines army service with religious studies). He voted for Agudat Yisrael in the last elections, while his family, which he described as traditional rather than religious, was Likud-oriented.

But he is confident that he can convince at least some of his seven brothers and sisters to vote for Shas and he expects to work mainly among family and friends.

The stress of Agudat Yisrael is on the budget, he says, while Shas was interested in values. But he expects at least some of the problems his party will confront - such as flats for young couples - to be of a distinctly material nature.

In the Knesset, he expects the party to be active in the field of education, re-directing Education

Ministry funds from "entertainment" to studies.

And, like virtually everyone connected with the party, he expresses concern over the large proportion of Sephardim in the country's prisons.

In his address in Pardes Katz, Rabbi Ovadia Yosef puts this figure at 93 per cent. Who ever heard, he asks, of Jews committing murder and rape and robbery in the countries from which they had come?

"They took away our traditions and tried to force European culture on us," he says.

His audience, dressed in working clothes, listens in rapt attention as he spins a web of folk tales and parables, using his hands expressively. Until the last minute of his speech, he does not mention the party at all.

FOR THAT MATTER, were it not for the Shas placards festooned across the aron kodesh, the event hardly resembles a political meeting. It begins with the recitation of the afternoon mincha service, followed by a study session at which the

talmudic tractate *Shabbat* is completed.

In the tradition of Sephardic synagogues, the honour of paying for the recitation of *kaddish* after the completion of the tractate is auctioned off, but after the auctioneer begins with 151,000, he is stopped. "The rabbi says it should be in dollars," he explains.

Also in the Sephardi tradition, the hospitality is open-handed. Men circulate during the rabbi's speech with trays of cold drinks, cakes and fruit.

One man appears restive during the speech and eventually walks out. Dressed in a white T-shirt and wearing a large gold medallion, he seems the epitome of a Likud supporter. But no, he says, he will vote for Shas. He launches into a tirade against the Likud government and the Ashkenazi establishment. He is unable to support himself on his salary, he says. His children receive no subsidies for pre-kindergarten school. Government welfare funds are eaten up by social workers' salaries. "Over there (in Bnei Brak) they

have fine homes and schools, while we have nothing."

It is true, he adds, that some Ashkenazim were all right. In fact, he has returned to religion through the influence of an Ashkenazi institution. But that institution, too, has been deprived of funds.

Meanwhile, Rabbi Yosef completes his address with a short, almost apologetic mention of the party. As he leaves to speak at another meeting in the Tel Aviv area, the crowd fights to come near him and kiss his hand.

According to Rabbi Shimon Ben-Haim, head of Shas's election campaign, whose office is above a synagogue near the Tel Aviv Central Bus Station, such scenes are being repeated all over the country - in poor neighbourhoods and in development towns. He himself is about to embark on a tour of the south, including Ashdod, Ashkelon and the moshavim along the way.

Shas is a party with hardly any money and little in the way of sophisticated electioneering techniques, he says. But it is perhaps just these qualities which may appeal to the voters.

For all that, on election day, Shas can count on thousands of yeshiva students to go out and organize the voters to cast their ballots - just the way the rabbis say they should.

TZEFANIA CHARIKAR is an unlikely candidate to head an ethnic party. He looks and talks and acts like a native-born Israeli. At the age of 30, he is the youngest head of any Israeli political party. He is also the only leader of an election list from the Negev. His aim is to be elected by the 36,000 Indian-born Jews as their first representative in the Knesset.

In the past, parties have used us only as vote-getters, not as partners," he says. "Nobody ever took an interest in Indian Jews until we decided to run on our own."

And, after all, we have been in Israel since its independence, settling in development towns from Kibbutz Shimon to Eilat."

Charikar first joined Mepam, and was elected to its coordinating committee. But he was unhappy with his role as the Indian voters for the party. He wanted to be an activist, part of the decision-making process.

"We were part of the Sephardi bloc, but we wanted integration. The Arabs also rebelled at having a separate unit for them within the party."

Why does the Indian community run alone, rather than, say, with Tami, which claims to represent the ethnic vote?

"Tami," he replies, "now represents only North African Jews. It has never advanced an Indian-Israeli."

Nor has anybody else, which is why he feels they must run alone.

Indians are quiet, civilized, cultured people. They take what is given - they don't push for more. In our country, unfortunately, those who have power get, and those who don't ask don't get.

The politics of integration

By LIORA MORIEL / Jerusalem Post Reporter

part of the national effort, to be part of the decision-making process.

"The Indian community was never asked what it wanted, what it thought, on the national level. Only on Indian affairs. It's time we became part of the general community."

INDEED, Charikar believes his constituency is wider than the Indian voters he can, he says, represent not only Indians but also young people, the disadvantaged and those from development towns.

"When we wanted to get our list together and had to gather 2,500 signatures, I was amazed to see so many able-bodied young men put

down 'labourer' as their occupation.

"I don't want to use word discrimination, but there's something wrong if young people cannot get an education for financial reasons."

"When people say that not everyone can be university-trained, this is usually a euphemism for not giving the poor equal opportunities. We want people who grew up in this country to be integrated into all walks of life, not to remain at the bottom of the ladder."

TZEFANIA CHARIKAR was born in Bombay. In 1964, he came to Israel with his family, settling in Ashdod. His father, who operated several stores in Bombay, became a

construction worker in Israel. And it still hurts. Charikar is running to regain his family's lost honour - and that of the eligible voters among the rest of the Indian community.

It saddens him that the Jews from Cochim, in Western India, have not rallied behind the new list. He ascribes this to the fact that they are connected to the moshav movement and the Alignment and are, therefore, afraid to lose their jobs and positions.

The third man on the list, at any rate, is Cochim-born. Charikar edited a Maharati-language monthly for three years after his army service ("I was in Golan, and we captured the Hermon during the war") and was elected to the Sephardi Federation.

He has always been active in Indian affairs and is unhappy with the fact that the Jewish Agency does not allow aged Jews from India to come to Israel.

"In our country, everything is *protekstia*," he reflects sadly. "Political power decides things. We haven't enough power to change the system, so we must get some political clout and fight from within."



Tzefania Charikar... "We want to be part of the national effort." (Moriel)

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THE 1981 ELECTION produced the nastiest campaign Israel has ever experienced. This was due to a conscious decision by the Likud, when it was running panic-stricken behind Labour in the early pre-election polls, to whip up barely dormant ethnic emotions against Labour.

Analysts have attributed the hair's-breadth Likud victory over Labour and Menachem Begin's subsequent ability to establish a skin-of-the-teeth, 61-seat majority coalition, to various factors.

Some attribute it to Yoram Aridor's persistent and impressive bribery of the electorate with reduced taxes on a cornucopia of electronic and automotive baubles. (The perpetuation of that election bribery for an additional two years was what brought the national economy to its present parlous state).

Others point to the wave of patriotism that engulfed the country following the exhilarating Israeli Air Force attack on the Baghdad atomic reactor ordered by Prime Minister Begin a short time before the elections. Its electoral effect was magnified by Shimon Peres assuming that his justly won reputation as one of Israel's few experts on nuclear strategy would permit him to criticize the strike.

But it is obvious, given the extremely narrow gap between Begin's ability to form a coalition following those elections and Labour's prospects, that the ethnic issue contributed significantly to the perpetuation of the Likud government for a further three years.

What has happened to ethnicism in politics in the meantime? And what place does it occupy in the current election campaign?

BEFORE ADDRESSING these questions, it would be well to debunk a widely perceived image of who voted for whom in the 1981 elections. The image propagated — understandably by the Likud, but also surprisingly by many Alignment spokesmen — is that the Sephardi

ethnic vote went en masse to Begin's Likud the last time around.

Studies following the 1981 elections have shown, however, that that was an incorrect picture. Over 50 per cent of voters of identifiable Iraqi and Kurdish origin, for instance, voted over 50 per cent for Peres and the Alignment in those elections; voters of Yemenite extraction voted for the Alignment in the high 30 per cent; it was only the North Africans, and especially the Moroccans, who voted overwhelmingly for Begin — Begin and not the Likud. But Moroccans are not synonymous with Sephardim, people stemming from Moslem countries and former Ottoman Empire origins.

Begin's legitimization of scurrilous anti-Ashkenazi invective against the Alignment in those elections burgeoned in the ensuing year into frightening proportions, when it seemed at times that the slow but steady integration of Israel's plethora of ethnic groups that had gone on for decades would be undone.

Perhaps one of the more memorable expressions of pent-up ethnic vitriol in that period came from an Alignment Knesset Member, Ra'anan Na'im (who, to the Alignment's shame, is again ensconced in the "safe" region of its list of candidates). Na'im declared in the Knesset that he was moved to throw up whenever he heard the words "gefite fish" (supposedly a symbol of East European Ashkenazim).

But politicians of all parties apparently stopped short in fright and penitence over what they had wrought when it became customary for slum area demonstrations (against policies of the Likud government) to express themselves in the daubing of the term "Ashkenazim" on the walls of buildings in Tel Aviv and of its posh suburbs.

IN THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN, what seems to be at work is a very evident and very determined political consensus not to repeat the ethnic

The ethnic factor

By YOSEF GOELL



Yitzhak Shamir bids for the ethnic vote in Jaffa. (Brutmann)

excesses of 1981. Special mention should be made in this regard of the role played by Supreme Court Justice Gavriel Bach, who, as chairman of the Central Elections Committee, has taken great pains to keep the parties to this commitment in their television and radio propaganda. The Likud, which is again running scared behind Labour, has in the last

week stepped up the emotionally agitating components of its television messages. But they are not distinctly ethnic in nature. The Likud seems to have chosen a central motif of broad-based populism, a theme of Likud-supporting have-nots as opposed to Alignment fatcats rather than one of rampant, undisguised ethnicism.

The Likud's television point-man, Sefi Rivlin (an Ashkenazi if ever there was one) is conducting an ugly hate-cum-fear campaign against Peres personally and against the Mapai of the 1950s. But it is not overtly ethnic.

It is, rather, the Alignment, with its use of the Gashash Haber comedy trio, which is unabashedly using a light-hearted ethnic motif in the hope of attracting Sephardi ethnic voters who have good reason to be deeply disappointed with the impact of the Likud government on their personal fate in the past three years. But even this use of ethnicism is low key and certainly not intended to be a message of hostility towards non-Sephardim.

To the extent that there is a relic of ethnicism in the big-party messages it is being played down. The main flap in the television campaign so far — the Lisa Peretz Affair — did not plug overt ethnic issues but rather the issue of the war in Lebanon and that of development towns versus kibbutzim. And even that flurry seems to be behind us.

PART OF THE REASON for the down-playing of the ethnic issue in this campaign can be found in the fact that such a large number of resentful, grudge-bearing North Africans and other Sephardi voters have made it into the Israeli mainstream during these years. This is a trend that began under the Labour governments of the 1970s, but there is no gaining saying the truth of the Likud's claim that many of the ethnics have never had it as good as they did during most of the years of

the Likud's tenure in power.

But what is also true is that a large number of those very North African and Sephardi voters who, together with the rest of Israel, partook of the dizzying euphoria of the speculative stock market during the Elvitch and Aridor years, were also the ones to hurt the most when that local version of Las Vegas went bust. And there was absolutely no ethnic differentiation in the identity of those hundreds of thousands of solid Israeli investors who lost a significant part of their savings in the bank-share collapse of last October.

On the other major issue of this campaign — the war in Lebanon — many Sephardi voters, despite their support for the war, have had good reason as others to struggle with their second thoughts about it and its toll of casualties.

NO ONE can predict how Israelis of Sephardi extraction will vote. What does seem to be true though, is that their ethnic identity will influence their vote much less than ever before, and much less than the other factors that go into the personal decision of whom to vote for.

With regard to the North African community, another factor working for a downgrading of ethnicism must be added — the political demise of Menachem Begin. For there is no doubt that in the previous two elections it was for Begin rather than for the Likud that many of these voters were voting for.

The 1981 election may thus well be seen as an aberration in the long-term trend of ethnic integration in the political and social fabric of an Israel that was established primarily by an older generation of East European immigrants.

But Israel today is well past the era of those Founding Fathers, Menachem Begin being the last of them to depart from the scene. What has happened to the ethnic integration in recent years is perhaps best exemplified by personalities like Chief of Staff Moshe Levy,

Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar and former president Yitzhak Navon.

Many people were genuinely surprised to learn that Levy was of Iraqi extraction when he was appointed chief of staff over a year ago. What that means is that he was unmistakably appointed on merit and not to curry favour with an Iraqi constituency.

Yisrael Kessar began his career in the Histadrut as a distinct Yemenite protégé of Labour's Histadrut leadership. But he made it to the top by proving himself in the job over two decades.

Yitzhak Navon was elected president to a large extent because of his Sephardi identity. But his image as president, and his current political persona, are factors of his personality, not of his ethnic lineage.

TO BE SURE, there is an opposing stream. The Likud's David Levy remains after 20 years in politics a distinct ethnic politician, whose political message is a distinct ethnic one. The same can be said of Aharon Abuhazzeira and his Tami party, which is North African rather than broader Sephardi in identity.

To those concerned with the future of ethnic integration, Tami is perhaps the greatest cause for optimism. It failed miserably in the 1981 elections, getting a mere three seats from a North African community that could easily have returned 15 Knesset Members had it voted en masse for a clear North African party like Tami.

The fact is that the overwhelming number of Israeli voters of North African origin did not vote for an ethnic party. It is impossible to predict how they will vote now that Begin has left the scene. But if the polls are to be believed they will definitely not vote for Tami in numbers larger than those attracted by Abuhazzeira's party the last time around.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

The highest imperative

By SHMUEL KATZ

He proceeds, however, to make a much more reckless statement. He declares that he knows that the central Jewish longing "across the world" is for the Likud's downfall. "He knows? Where from? Has he statistics?"

It is possible that the Jews from abroad with whom he hobnobs have continued to give him that impression. I can assert, with at least equal authority, that his statement is groundless. He cannot "know" anything of the sort. During three visits in the last 20 months I have spent many weeks touring the U.S., talking and listening to Jews, and I encountered no such phenomena.

What I did find was universal protest and apprehension at the hateful propaganda of the U.S. media against the Likud government, and no little resentment against the Israeli sources of some of that propaganda. Also I learned here and there that Mr. Eban had been telling Jewish audiences what he thinks about the Likud government...

national and Islamic doctrine: that the existence of any independent Jewish state is not to be tolerated. That doctrine has not changed.

How is it possible for Mr. Eban to omit mention of the fact that the idea of giving up territory to the Arabs in the belief — articulated at the time by Chaim Weizmann — that that would appease them, was tried already in 1947? The Arab reply was the combined effort (by all the neighbouring Arab states) to destroy the tiny Jewish state at birth.

The miracle of its survival was effected only by the sacrifice in that year 1948 of 6,000 lives (more proportionately than the casualties of either Britain or the U.S. in World War II).

How can Eban ignore the repeated Israeli offers, after that War of Independence, of peace on the Armistice lines — and their unequivocal rejection by the Arabs?

Does he forget, too, that he has described those lines as a death-trap?

Has Eban forgotten his own historic speeches, his tremendous philippic against the Arab perpetrators of the Six Day War — which had been preceded by scenes of wild public exhilaration in the squares of their cities at the prospect and promise, held out by their leaders, of Israel's erasure from the map?

How is it possible for him to ignore the unrelenting, implacable campaign of world-wide economic boycott, and the diplomatic and propaganda offensive against Israel and the Jewish people, fuelled by a lexicon of lies recalling in content

and far surpassing in volume the anti-Semitic outpourings of the Nazis?

None of this is even hinted at in Eban's bland discussion of the prospect of "negotiations." Nor, evidently, is he interested in the small fact that all the Arab states have not only given the utmost support and sustenance to PLO terror against Israel, but have proclaimed their identification with the aims of the PLO — as outlined in the Palestinian Covenant — the destruction of Israel and the dispersal (or worse) of its people.

IT EMERGES that Mr. Eban has adapted his proposals to the definitions laid down in the grand plan of the Arab propagandists. Having failed in the attempts at one-stage annihilation of Israel, and believing that the world at large would not stomach the idea of the huge, 21-state Arab nation's trying to wipe out the minuscule Jewish state, the Arabs projected a picture of a powerful predatory Jewish state that had deprived a poor Palestinian people of its homeland.

The Egyptian journal *El Mousawwar* put it succinctly: "The masses of the Palestinian people are only the advance-guard of the Arab nation... a plan for rousing world opinion in stages, as it would not be able to understand or accept a war by a hundred million Arabs against a small state." (December 1968.)

IT IS ONLY in this context that one can understand Mr. Eban's sudden flashing of the idea that Israel should apply the principle that "gov-

ernments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

He adds that "the Likud's plans for Judea and Samaria do not include any element of consent." This is unmitigated — and reckless — casuistry.

Does he not realize that if this principle were valid in every case — which it is not — it would apply in Eretz Yisrael not only to Judea or Samaria? And bring anarchy to the whole world, dotted as it is with national minorities.

These minorities enjoy, or should enjoy, equal civic rights — just like the Arab minority in Israel, including Judea and Samaria if and when they are incorporated.

Moreover, Mr. Eban knows the answer very well. He once told the Knesset (July 18, 1973):

"In any event, there will be a sizeable Arab population in the State of Israel. There is no state which enjoys 100 per cent self-determination, although the Arab nation has come nearer to this 100 per cent than any other nation in the world — 99.8 per cent of all the Arabs in the world are living each under his independent flag. No other nation has such a patrimony of self-determination."

In that same speech, Eban defined what he regarded as "an historic, moral and international imperative of the highest order, which ranks above any claim to raise the number of Arab states from 18 to 19." That imperative is the "preservation of the independence and security of the one State of Israel."

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הכנסת ה-13

A DEMOCRATIC nation has to negotiate with itself before it can negotiate with its adversary, and each negotiating phase requires compromise.

Most of the specialized literature on negotiation systems has been written in the context of the inter-charge between the Soviet Union and the West since World War II. But the real differentiation is between governments which associate their public opinion with the negotiation process and those that do not. Thus, the problems that arise in an Arab-Israeli negotiation are closely related to those faced by the West and the Soviet Union, as a result of their divergent domestic structures. There is no likelihood that Israel will ever have to negotiate with a country whose diplomacy is subject to democratic rules and restraints.

For didactic purposes, I shall categorize the parties in a negotiation as "parliamentary" and "absolutist" countries. I am not using these terms here in a polemical spirit, although my orientation is no secret to any reader.

Negotiators on behalf of an absolutist country do not have to play chess with a multitude of fervent onlookers looking over their shoulders and giving vigorous counsel before and after every move. They do not have to expose their detailed positions before the negotiation has begun, thus giving their adversary time to plan his reaction.

Ignay negotiation, it is customary for the parties to begin their case with proposals that they probably know to be unattainable, in order that their fall-back positions should appear to be reluctant concessions. But if a democratic country states positions that are blatantly unacceptable to the other side, its own

THE ART OF NEGOTIATION

Abba Eban analyzes the meaning of the Labour Alignment's political platform as embracing both the party's doves and hawks.

public opinion, as well as its foreign interlocutor, will sternly call for its positions to be moderated.

In the American-Soviet dialogue on arms control, there has been a great deal of advice from public opinion in America and Europe urging the West to bring its positions closer to those of the Soviet Union. I have never heard of public opinion in the Soviet Union urging Mr. Gromyko and the Soviet generals to give more serious attention to American and European sentiment.

Henry Kissinger, writing from research and experience states bleakly: "Among the advantages enjoyed by Soviet diplomacy is... one great asset: it has no domestic pressures impelling it constantly to put forward ideas to break deadlocks. It is not accused of rigidity if it advances variations of the same proposal year after year. There are no rewards in the Politburo for the exploration of every new scheme which turns out American diplomacy into a negotiation with ourselves."

SUBSTITUTE "Arab" for "Soviet" and "Israeli diplomacy" for "American diplomacy," and you have an exact picture of our own dilemma as negotiators. The divergence in method is inescapable. It is inherent in the very nature of the contrasting regimes.

The special Soviet technique of negotiation has nothing to do with communism. Nor do I accept the contention of the American arms control negotiator, Edward Rowley,

that it reflects a cultural schism dating from the adherence of Russia to the Eastern rather than the Western branch of Christianity, or the view of Harold Nicolson that the difficulty proceeds from the unhappy reluctance of lesser breeds to conduct their diplomacy in accordance with superior (i.e. British) traditions.

The apparent advantage of the USSR in relation to the West is a function of the Soviet immunity from internal questioning and dissent. The Western handicap cannot be eliminated without eliminating Western democracy, just as Israel cannot enjoy the advantages possessed by absolutist Arab states without forfeiting its highest social values.

It would seem that all this puts the best cards into the hands of non-democratic governments. But, happily, it does not work out that way. Soviet and Arab diplomacy are not success stories. The USSR and the Arab governments have made costly errors for which their Western or Israeli counterparts would have had to pay a heavy price of discredit.

The USSR erred in rejecting membership of the Marshall plan, thus enabling it to become an anti-Soviet alliance. It erred in absenting itself from the Security Council in 1950, thus enabling the United States to obtain international sanction for its action in Korea. It erred again in provoking resolute Western

support of Turkey in 1946-7 and in rejecting a compromise which later slipped from their grasp in the Straits. It erred in weakening its credibility by ultimative deadlines about Berlin in 1961, which were not carried out; in encouraging Egyptian and Syrian pressure on Israel in 1967 without being ready to back them in subsequent risks of Israeli reaction; in breaking their relations with Israel, thus giving the United States a virtual monopoly of mediation and influence; in adopting such an arrogant stance in Cairo in 1970-2 as to alienate Egyptian nationalism and in losing the sympathy of the Third World by a useless campaign in Afghanistan.

Towering above all other errors was a clumsy Soviet diplomacy in the Cuban crisis (1962), in which Soviet threats went far beyond any real capacity or intention to carry them out. Nor can any objective observer understand how the persecution of such people as Andrei Sakharov or Anatoly Shcharansky can have been so compellingly necessary in Soviet terms as to prejudice larger Soviet interests in the tense dialogue with the non-Soviet world.

It is clearly not true that Soviet diplomacy and decision-making is a precise exercise in calculation, immune to gusts of passion, injured pride, personal exhaustion and other

human frailties that prevent a negotiator from acting in his own objective interest.

A thoughtful American analyst sums it up clearly: "They often ask for a whole loaf where they could get half a loaf, and wind up with nothing. They fritter away the credibility of their threats and the values of their promises... They insult those whose good will they ought to cultivate and become self-righteous and rigid where they ought to be ingratulating and inventive. In short, the shrewd and skilful Soviet negotiating style turns out to be a myth." (Fred Ikle, *How Nations Negotiate*, New York and London, Harper & Row 1964, page 234).

ALL THESE judgments apply to Arab diplomacy with astonishing exactitude. Here we do not even need many case histories. Since the 1930s, the Arabs have been rejecting proposals conceived largely in their own interest, only to hark back to them nostalgically when they have become unavailable. Their rejected opportunities have become Israel's good fortune.

They include the British White Paper of 1939; the UNSCOP Report and the UN General Assembly resolution of 1947; the idea of converting the armistice lines into permanent frontiers before the Israeli trauma of 1967; the Camp David

accords which establish Palestinian consent as the primary condition of a settlement and the idea of a territorial compromise which would free most of the territories and populations in Judea, Samaria and Gaza from Israeli rule.

This experience refutes the conventional wisdom to which maximalist opening demands defended with obduracy are the best prescriptions for success. Those who say "all or nothing" are more likely to get nothing than to get all.

It is in this light that the Labour Alignment platform should be assessed. It is an exercise in equilibrium. It thus reflects the ambivalent mood that is inherent in social democracy. Our habit and temperament require us to seek more than one aim at one and the same time. We wish to avoid a coercive jurisdiction over a vast population of Palestinian Arabs who are not our citizens. But we insist overridingly on security, and this involves a measure of territorial change. We also know that publicly stated positions become the object of ruthless bargaining; we cannot, therefore, afford detailed public speculation on more lenient positions.

THOSE WHO SPEAK of our platform as "hawkish" have read the provisions dealing with secure boundaries. But those who assert that we are indistinguishable from the Likud have clearly overlooked some of the more decisive passages:

"The position of the Alignment is that the maintenance of a democra-

tic regime in Israel based on equality of rights for all citizens is not compatible with the imposition of permanent Israeli rule on the Palestinian-Arab inhabitants of all the territories of Judea, Samaria and Gaza." "The Jordanian Palestinian state will extend over the areas of Jordan... and specified areas of dense population in Judea, Samaria and Gaza which will be evacuated by Israel forces." "The Likud government's policy of domination in Judea, Samaria and Gaza has already led to a serious erosion in the democratic and moral values of Israeli society in relation to the maintenance of the rule of law, equality before the law, the authority of democratic institutions and the attitude to Arabs." "A government under Labour leadership will support the participation of authorized representatives of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza in the negotiation with the Jordanian government, in order to permit them to participate in the determination of their future..."

All these passages were adopted without dissent. It is wrong to assert that the lines are not clearly drawn between the two major political groups. The hawks have no reason to screech or the doves to coo.

The intellectual virtue of the Alignment platform lies in its austere refusal to pretend that there is a simple prescription for peace. To say that our doctrine is complex is to award it a prize for integrity. We do not ask our neighbours to accept our definitions, or to forgo their own, before the negotiation begins. But if they will not even see these positions as a basis for the opening of negotiations they will revert to a sad tradition of self-defeat.

EVEN IF all the Ethiopian immigrants in Israel were adults, and were to vote for the same political party, they could not put even one person in the Knesset. And the parties know this - the Ethiopians are not an election issue.

In turn, the Ethiopian immigrants appear to be not very interested in the upcoming elections - my impression is that many of them don't even know when the elections are, let alone for whom to vote.

After talking with veteran olim in Ashdod and Ashdod, as well as with more recent immigrants in Beersheba and Arad, there seem to be two more pressing problems on their minds: the fact that immigration from Ethiopia has virtually stopped, and the fact that there is growing unemployment among them. Whenever I approached Ethiopian immigrants on the subject of the upcoming elections, they deftly switched the topic of conversation to these topics instead.

The situation in Beersheba, where I met Dr. Jeff Halper, an anthropologist who follows the Ethiopian community closely. Another reason there is less immigration now is that there is no place for them. The absorption agencies are renting the Orly Hotel in Netanya for them at \$300 a room per month, four to a room.

The situation is also bad as far as employment is concerned. The Ethiopians claim that they get very low wages, and they now find it difficult to get jobs at all. An immigrant who lives in Arad, complained that the Dead Sea hotels will not employ Ethiopians. I asked one of the hotel managers if this is true. He replied that it was: "The hotels work around the clock, and the Ethiopians are religious. They don't work on the Sabbath or on holidays. So we have a problem employing them. But anyway they are becoming less religious the longer they stay and when they go out into society they are not so strictly observant." He said that the idea is under review.

When I tell the new immigrants that in a democracy if citizens have problems then elections are the time to air their grievances and therefore take an active interest in them, they smile. Whatever the problems, they say, they are happy to be in Israel. The main thing is to be in the land of

Community's concerns

By LIORA MORIEL/Jerusalem Post Reporter

the Jews rather than under foreign domination.

A young woman in Ashdod, who has been in the country for seven years, takes me to her apartment for tea. Her teenage daughter is independent, not as respectful as her mother would like - she is out with friends. The woman lights up a cigarette, a new habit she picked up during one of her frequent trips to the hospital. Ethiopians rarely smoke.

She is no longer suspicious of me. She wants to talk, to ask questions, to understand. It was obvious that, if she were in my place, she would not be wasting time on political questions. But she is an indulgent hostess who does not wish to offend. So she smiles and tries to help me flesh out an article on Ethiopian voting patterns.

"Why vote at all?" she asks. "Isn't everyone running Jewish? They're all good. Who are we to judge who's better?" She does not know how to read and write, but she has the right to vote. She is a citizen. Most likely, she will not exercise her right.

Many of the Ethiopians I met, most of whom were relatively new in the country and many who were not yet conversant in Hebrew, had little notion of parties and politics in Israel. Because of their politeness and not wishing to offend, they were also reluctant to tell me which party they favoured even if they knew. After all, perhaps I had a different opinion, which they would consider valid as theirs - why disagree in public and create bad feelings?

One articulate Ethiopian-born Israeli was more forthcoming. He first tried to immigrate twenty years ago, when the status of the Falashas was unsettled and had to return to

Ethiopia before making aliya seven years ago. (The Sephardi chief rabbi proclaimed the Falashas as Jewish only in 1973, and it was only in 1975 that the Law of Return applied to Ethiopian Jews.)

HAVING EXPERIENCED at first hand the rejection of his people by Israeli society and the Israeli government in the past, he was committed to the Likud. It was former prime minister Menachem Begin, after all, who made immigration from Ethiopia to Israel possible. Although Ethiopian Jews have been trying to return to Israel for a hundred years, it was only four years ago that they succeeded in fulfilling their dream.

"And the Likud safeguards religion," added another long-time immigrant in Ashdod. "I'll definitely be voting for the Likud."

Wherever I went, there was deep respect for Begin, and frustration at his passing from power. Now that Begin is ill, many of them have no clear-cut favourite. But the Likud may win them over even without Begin.

"The Likud people are those around them the most, in the development towns where they live," says Halper. "My hunch is that at least the veterans would vote Likud. Those are the people they're in touch with."

Although the community is religious, the religious parties do not seem to attract Ethiopian voters. Perhaps one reason is that the National Religious Party appointed Yosef Hadani as the community's rabbi, even though Hadani is not an ordained rabbi and is not considered a religious authority among the

Ethiopians. Thus, a political ploy that may have been providential in the past with other groups here simply failed. Or perhaps even backfired.

But this does not mean that the Ethiopians cannot be manipulated. They can be, and may be, observers feel. Yael Kahana, who spent a year with the Falashas in 1973 (she described her experience eloquently in her book, *Ahim Shehorim/Black Brothers*) feels that Tami may yet sway the Ethiopians. It is, after all, a religious and ethnic party. And the absorption minister is a Tami man.

"It is very likely that at the last moment, Tami will mount a campaign to woo Ethiopian voters," she says. However, when I asked minister Aharon Uzan if Tami has a special platform for Ethiopians, he said that it did not. He did not seem to place any undue emphasis on the Ethiopian vote.

But in a close election campaign where every vote counts, Tami and other parties - may yet change their minds and put pressure on Ethiopian immigrants.

With 27 parties running, decisions are difficult to make. More so when there are immigrants involved who have not lived with democracy and are unfamiliar with Hebrew.

Dov Miller, the director of Ashdod's absorption centre, says that the Ethiopians in his centre are given lessons in Israeli democracy and that "they know about the parties." He added, however, that political electioneering is forbidden within the centre's premises.

Malka Elbaum, director of the Beersheba absorption centre in which several hundred Ethiopian immigrants live, says that she is surprised to hear that the new immigrants have so little idea of the upcoming elections because she asked upon teachers and community workers to give them lessons in democracy and civil rights. "We don't meddle with politics as a matter of policy, so we don't talk about specific parties or issues, but we certainly feel that everyone must know what is going on in the country in which they live."

She adds that every family has a television set and sees the election propaganda broadcasts.

As for unemployment, Elbaum says that only four people in the entire absorption centre are out of work, and this is only temporary. Employers are not eager to give workers permanent status and therefore make sure that they don't work a full consecutive year. They fire workers after several months, then rehire them later, she explains. "I'm very optimistic about the Ethiopians, about their eventual absorption into Israeli society." So is Halper. "It's all simply a matter of time."

MEANWHILE TO avoid being ex-

ploited by unscrupulous politicians all Israel's absorption centres are off-limits to political parties. "I certainly hope no political party tries to influence them unduly," says Chaim Aharon, newly-elected head of the Jewish Agency's Aliya and Absorption Department. "If anyone violates the non-political nature of the absorption centres, we will appeal to the election committee for action," he adds. Aharon says that those Ethiopians who arrived here before the spring are eligible to vote but adds that there are not many of voting age.

Aharon says that before the elections, he will make sure that every eligible voter among the Ethiopian immigrants will know about Israeli voting procedures and, also, where their polling stations are. Assuming that all these things are done, hundreds and perhaps thousands of Ethiopians will be voting for the first time in their lives on July 23. Whatever they decide to vote, there is no doubt that this is another means for their eventual feeling of belonging to this country just like everyone else. And this is surely the mark of a great democracy.

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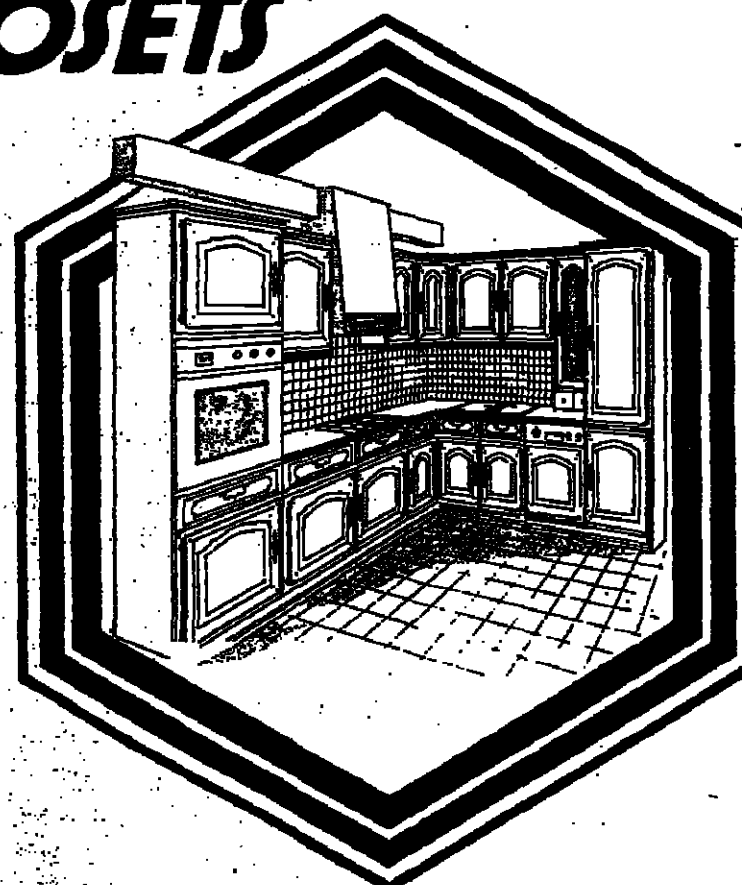
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IN LATE 1980, an Israeli missile boat was on a mission near Crete. Several members of the crew gathered around the radio and made contact with their home base in Haifa. They told the radio operator on shore to dial a local number, and then leave the telephone receiver clamped to the radio communications equipment.

The shore operator put the call through to a bank branch in Haifa. The crewmen then proceeded to give the bank clerk their buying and selling orders for the next day's trading on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange (TASE), following to make themselves heard above the static and through the unusual "hook-up" they were using.

This was an early manifestation of the extraordinary economic and social phenomenon that swept the nation in the late Seventies and, above all, in the early Eighties, reaching its peak in 1982-3. "Boursa-mania," as it became known, for want of a better or more scientific term, was not, at root, a local invention, but the Israeli experience is not less remarkable for not being original.

(The term "boursa" will be used throughout, in contrast to "stock exchange," to avoid associations with the normal use of the latter term in western economies.)

This is no nostalgic walk down memory lane. The issues raised by the emergence of the boursa are still on the public agenda, after being kicked around ineffectively for years, while the results of the bursting of the bubble, in 1983—above all the problem of the banks and their shares—are of major importance today, and are likely to be with us for many years to come.

BUT FIRST things first. For most relevant purposes, it seems correct to see the emergence of boursa-mania in the then-unprecedented boom that began in the summer of 1976 and continued until November 1977. There had, of course, been previous booms of the TASE, but because of their limited social impact, they bear no comparison with the period under discussion. Prices went up and down and some people made and lost a lot of money, but the phenomenon could hardly be described as a national one.

Conversely, some analysts belittle the 1976-7 boom on the same grounds. It was so small, by comparison to the events of 1980-3, as to be irrelevant. However, most of the boursa community—traders, brokers, exchange and bank officials—take the view that the later events have to be seen as growing out of the 1976-77 experience. Despite the two-year hiatus between the crash of 1977 and the market start-up of late

A fistful of lirot

In the first of six articles describing the rise and fall of the Israeli stock market, The Post's Pinhas Landau chronicles the boom and bust of 1977, which proved to be a harbinger of things to come.

1979, the memories of the earlier boom and, more important, the techniques and tactics that were developed, were a very real factor in the evolution of the market in the early 1980s.

If one thinks of the boursa in terms of the history of aviation, then the 1976-7 period was like the biplanes and triplanes of World War I, with the next boom, (it will be referred to as the Hurwitz period because it corresponded to the tenure of Yigal Hurwitz as finance minister, from the end of 1979 to the beginning of 1981), representing the Spitfires and Messerschmitts of World War II. The third stage, (the Aridor boom from autumn 1981 until January 1983) seeing the emergence of jet planes.

In the "old days" of 1977, there

existed a real possibility for anyone to join the fray, and individuals succeeded in making an impact on the wider scene without having enormous resources behind them. A clever operator could, in those relatively innocent times, take on and beat the juggernauts: Snoopy could still shoot down the Red Baron.

By 1982, the small operator had been eliminated altogether. Upstarts were ruthlessly squashed, and the only way to succeed was to play along with the "superpowers."

A common refrain in those years of boom was that the boursa was "the national casino," and it contained a lot of truth. But even the casino atmosphere changed with the times. What started as a serious but friendly open poker game, gradually turned into a brutal but dazzling trap

for the unwary punter, run by a "mafia" of rival groups. They co-operated in rigging the tables, but maintained a vicious and ultimately fatal competition between themselves as to their place in the pecking-order.

LET US NOW go back, almost to the beginning, and review what happened in the remarkable year of 1977—and what people thought about it.

The media opened the year with reviews of 1976 which, they said, had been a record year on the stock exchange, with the emphasis moving from bonds to shares. The boom in the stock market, which had started the previous summer and was being led by a group of shares which were rumoured to have oil, or to be likely to find it, was well under way. However, the economic commentators were by no means overjoyed at what they saw happening. A particularly trenchant critique, which throws much light on "the way we were"—even then—is to be found in the January 21, 1977, issue of *Yedioth Aharonit*.

The paper's analyst, Dov Genihovsky—then, as now, the doyen of Israeli economic commentators—starts his piece, called "The sad to-do on the merry boursa," by noting that many people were throwing thousands of lira (Jan. 1977: IL7.25/\$1) onto the market, basing their move from bonds to shares on the "sure" knowledge that the Alignment would win the coming elections and that Ya'acov Levinson, a known opponent of indexation, would be finance minister.

He went on to attack the poor recommendations of the banks' "advisers" (a constant theme, heard repeatedly over the years) and then made the following points:

□ In the past two weeks something has happened in Israel. The daily turnover in shares has crossed the IL30m. mark (\$4.15m.), while bonds are hibernating.
□ Banks are (regarded as) the safest things in the country, and therefore bank shares are the safest investment—in the eyes of the public. But, Genihovsky pointed out, banks use government bonds to cover their obligations, and thus remain part of the system and are vulnerable to government moves to change the terms of bonds.

□ Maybe the whole boom is being artificially stoked by the banks, so as to enable them successfully to float large new share issues, he suggested,

after which they would leave the market, and all the small investors in it, to make their own way.

□ Given the ongoing argument as to whether inflation in 1977 will be 25 per cent, or possibly as much as 34 per cent, economic logic dictates buying index-linked bonds, was his solid and sensible conclusion.

With seven and a half years of hindsight, it is difficult to know whether to laugh or cry.

In any event, the boom continued to gain momentum, so that there was much talk of "unprecedented" and even "hitherto unthinkable" price and volume gains. The undisputed star of the boom was the Jordan Exploration company, which was turned from an almost worthless shell, trading for about 100 points (i.e. one lira a share) into a speculative vehicle which raced up to the then-unheard-of price of 4,300, before beginning a long and painful descent. By then, however, its canny owner had turned the paper wealth of the shares into real assets, by concluding several deals whereby he swapped Jordan shares for choice property in downtown Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

In April the board of the stock exchange published a warning to the public, pointing out the dangers of speculative activity in shares having a narrow trading base. There followed two days of falls, after which the market stabilized.

Nor did the upset victory of the Likud in the 1977 elections affect the main trend. After some uncertainty before and after polling day, the boom rolled on with even greater force.

BY THIS TIME, the share market had left all precedent far behind. No one had seen anything of this magnitude before, and no one had any idea of how to control it. The market had simply gone berserk, as the public continued to "enrol" in the new fashionable club, bringing vast sums of money with it. The number of listed companies was then under 100, and many of them had a very small "float" of shares in the market. So prices could not help but go up, inflated by the huge demand for shares chasing the limited supply that was available.

The professionals knew that it was all much too good to be true, and one of the most experienced of the old-time brokers voiced his feelings in a newspaper interview in early July.

"No one cares about the true value of a given share or company," he said. "They only ask: If I pay 1,000 points today for a share which is barely worth 100, will I be able to find a bigger idiot who will give me 1,500 for this garbage tomorrow?"

"The management of the boursa has warned the public, but that was like crying in the wilderness. The public will only leave the market when it is carried out on stretchers. So why do I bother with a warning? So that when the catastrophe comes, as it must, the warning will be on the record."

He also gave readers a few pieces of sound advice, such as not to play the market with borrowed money. Best of all, he advised them not to go in at all at this stage: "If you missed the wedding, don't come for the funeral."

But I know, from talking to the wall, there will be a crash and people will be wiped out. But worse, the boursa itself will suffer a blow, because those who are burnt will never return; not until a new generation grows up which knew not the fall and the disgrace, will the ruins be rebuilt."

MORE AND MORE attention was directed at the extraordinary goings on in the trading halls on Tel Aviv's Allenby Street. Not just the media, but general conversation came to be increasingly dominated by boursa events and boursa terminology.

On August 9, the papers carried a warning by Dr. Manfred Gerstenfeld, general manager of International Consultants (I.C.), a Bank Leumi subsidiary, which published a weekly report on the market for the bank's customers. Gerstenfeld said that most shares were trading at least one-third above their real value. Later that month, he noted that there were no justifications for the high prices from the point of view of earnings and profitability.

But in the middle of August, out of the blue, the market suffered several days of sharp falls right across the board. Everyone thought that this was the long-predicted collapse, and *The Jerusalem Post* proclaimed: "The peak of the recent stock boom is over," adding cautiously, "at least for the time being."

The caution was not misplaced. The market soon bounced back, and

September and October saw renewed rises. At the end of October, the Likud government unveiled its "economic upheaval," involving a large devaluation, letting the lira float and abolishing the system of currency restrictions in force till then.

The exchange was closed for ten days to allow members and public alike to plan and reorganize themselves. When trading reopened, the level of activity on both the share and bond markets shattered all previous records. Shares alone traded an average of IL110m. (\$7.5m) daily in November. In the first half of the month, price levels soared, with many issues rising by 5-10 per cent day after day.

The reaction was not long in coming. On Sunday, November 20, the morning after Sadat landed at Ben-Gurion Airport, the market broke. One month earlier, a senior banker had said in a lecture in Haifa that fears regarding the continued price rises were not necessarily well founded, being based on past experience. It was not inevitable that history would repeat itself and prices fall sharply.

But that was before the "upheaval" and the blow-off that followed it. On November 14, Bank Leumi—at the behest of Gerstenfeld and his colleagues at I.C.—instructed its branch network not to advise customers to invest in shares, given the high prices prevailing. They were also to warn that the bank would not support the price of Leumi stock if there were heavy selling orders. Purchase of index-linked bonds and foreign currency was advised.

IN THE TWO and a half weeks from the start of the slump until its climax in a massive sell-off on December 5-6, the share market was well and truly massacred. All the warnings had been to no avail, and those who had rushed in to the market in the expectation of quick and easy profits were equally quick to be driven out again in a panicky stampede. The latecomers of the previous two months took substantial losses.

At this stage a pattern evolved that was to repeat itself with sickening regularity in the years to come. When the bubble burst, the falls in prices came in great waves, with many shares being marked "sellers only" for several days, before finally opening for trading at prices tens of percentage points below their peak.

Confused and disoriented "investors" of the sort who barely knew what a share was and certainly had no concept of the finer points of the boursa setup would crowd the Allenby "passage," beneath the exchange offices, or fill the branches of the banks and brokers. Here they would swap stories of woe, of fortunes won and lost, and these would be picked up and amplified by the sensation-seeking media. Fearful women told of their husband's selling home and hearth and the subsequent swallowing up by the Moloch of the boursa.

Another aspect of the crash scenario was the search for scapegoats. The public, often abetted by some of the press, accused the banks of orchestrating the whole thing, while the banks and other professionals blamed the "basty," "panicky," "herd-like" attitude of the public. Both of these sets of accusations had much truth and relevance, but both sides seem to have discovered the truth about their partners to the dance at a rather late stage.

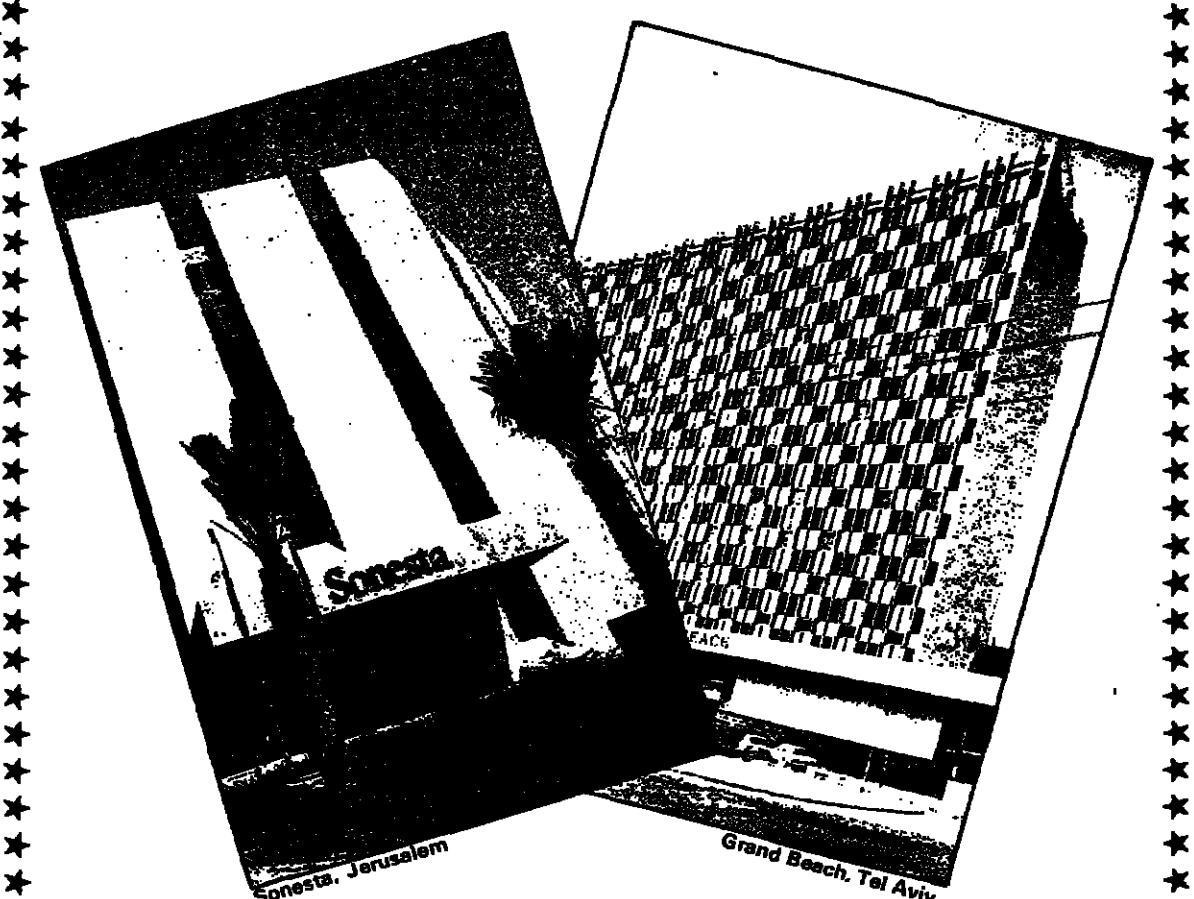
The boom and bust of 1977 was thought at the time to be the ultimate spectacle that the boursa could serve up. We now know that it was just a prototype, a rehearsal for later performances. But all the essential ingredients were already there. The sequels were much bigger, even more dramatic and had an even larger cast, but they lacked originality. The sense of wonder, the atmosphere of an entire nation going collectively mad, became soiled and lost its freshness.

After November 1977, the share market took two years to recover. Each succeeding crash or shock took less of a toll and saw the market bounce back more quickly. Only in the last months of 1982 would the bubbling froth on a boiling market once again draw gasps of wonder from the most hardened and cynical observers, even as they ran for cover to hide from the coming explosion.



Isaiah Kallimsky

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The Main Points of The Labour Alignment Platform to Restore Social and Economic Health

A. INTRODUCTION

1. Our economic programme is based on the concept that the economy is not an end in itself but is rather a means for achieving social, Zionist, security and political objectives.

2. Our platform is based on the desire to see a democratic Israel, with a large Jewish majority in the population, seeking peace agreements with its neighbours, based on adequate security for Israel. For the sake of peace, Israel will be prepared to give up territory in areas in Judea and Samaria, in which there is a dense Arab population.

Our aim is to raise immigration to a high level, and bring about a situation in which social responsibility is an accepted norm. This outlook, the reverse of the Likud's, is an essential aspect of our programme.

3. We are convinced that the present economic and social crisis is entirely the result of the outlook, actions, shortcomings and failures of the Likud government - the "economic revolution," "elections" economics, the Lebanese war, the enormous sums invested in heavily populated areas of Judea and Samaria, the absence of overall planning, the swings in government policy, and the "all thumbs" manner in which policy has been implemented.

We are sure that, had a different policy been pursued, the economy and society would now be in a state of controlled growth, and that we would be masters of our own destiny.

4. The crisis is not the result of an intrinsic weakness in the economy, the people, or the work force. There is enormous ability in industry, agriculture, tourism, science and technology, the Israeli public and the Jewish people, which has yielded great results in the past, and which can do the same in the future.

5. In view of the seriousness of the situation in the economy and society, it is essential to have a complete change of policy, and to harness all national resources to the rehabilitation of the economy, through strengthening it. The introduction of a different policy will make this possible.

B. THE OBJECTIVES

1. The renewal of economic growth and development, and the maintenance of full employment.

2. The restoration of economic stability and the renewal of the public's faith in the future of the country and the economy.

3. Reduction in our economic dependence on overseas support, and reinforcement of our freedom of action as an independent country.

4. A change in the structure of the economy and employment patterns, achieved by increasing exports, scaling down imports, and increasing the weight in the economy of companies working for export, and the science-based and technological branches.

5. Strengthening social self-confidence, and the sense of joint social responsibility, and the establishment of a fair distribution of the burden imposed by economic rehabilitation. This involves providing the resources necessary for education, health, housing, and the absorption of the younger generation in education, vocational training and employment.

6. Increasing the population, expanding employment, and upgrading development and settlement in the Jerusalem area, Galilee, the Negev, the South and the Arava, the Jordan Valley and the Golan Heights.

7. Our economic programme is aimed at achieving the following objectives, in the next five years:

- * The national product will grow by about \$3,000m., this being approximately one third of the present national product. Most of this increased production will be channelled to exports and replacing imports.
- * Exports will be increased by about \$7,000m., i.e., by some 70%; industrial exports will be doubled.
- * The increase in the deficit in the balance of payments will be reduced to about \$2,000m. per year, by the end of the period. (The present figure is about \$5,000m.)
- * The number of people in employment will increase by about 220,000; some 100,000 more people will be employed in industry.

C. THE METHOD

These goals will be achieved in the framework of a comprehensive plan, which will combine various long term means, including the following:

1. An increase of private and public savings is essential for the fulfilment of the entire plan, the basic means by which to restrain excessive consumption and inflation, and the means by which investment can be increased and the country's foreign currency position improved.

Accordingly, the government's commitments in respect of sav-

ings plans, provident funds, *Patam* accounts, and "arrangement" bank shares will be honoured in full, and private savings will be encouraged.

2. RENEWAL OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AND EXPANSION

- * Broad industrialization will be the main trend in future development and growth. Advanced, science-based and export industries, and skilled workers, who will be rewarded for participating in the production effort, research and development, increased productivity and exports, will be the key to growth and improving the quality of life for the whole country, particularly in development towns and settlement areas.
- Industrialization is essential for the coordinated achievement of growth and reduced dependence on support from overseas; realizing the Zionist goal of absorbing the younger Israeli-born generation and immigrants in the work force; improving the educational standard, and supporting development towns and neighbourhoods; and making possible the movement of population into areas with only a small number of Jewish residents.
- This industrialization will be based on innovation, original know-how and quality, the main resources available to the State of Israel and the Jewish people.
- * This will not be possible without government planning and initiative and the encouragement of public and private enterprise, undertaken by both large companies and groups of innovative, skillful entrepreneurs.
- * To achieve this development of the economy, new initiatives will be taken, and new means used to recruit capital in Israel and abroad.
- Steps taken will include the establishment of an international fund for expanding the economy. The fund will enter into direct partnership with Israeli industries and entrepreneurs, and with research and development institutes. There will be increased participation of the Jewish people in providing capital for Israel, by the sale of shares in existing assets in Israel.
- The Israel Bond Organization will increase its activity in recruiting resources for the development of advanced industries and financing research and development.
- * Two advanced-industry regions will be established, one in Galilee, between Carmiel and Ma'alot, the other in the Negev, east of Beersheba. They will be based on the skilled manpower in institutions of higher learning and research in these regions, on professional

manpower in existing industry, and on the second generation in development towns.

- * Expansion of exports and replacement of imports, with adequate return on export trade, regulated by the exchange rate and tax concessions, will be the main means of increasing productivity and creating new jobs.
- * Finance will be sought abroad for the construction of the rail link to Eilat, which will become a focus of renewed economic activity in the Negev.
- * We will work for the establishment of free trade zones at Israel's ports.
- * An emergency programme will be drawn up for training engineers, *handasaim* and computer science graduates, in order to overcome the bottleneck in the development of advanced, science-based industries, in export, defence and civilian sectors. Those studying under this programme will receive special support from the plants and organizations in which they will work after graduation.
- * An increase in the participation in the labour force, particularly women, will be encouraged. We will support equal pay for equal work, and the setting up at plants of day-care centres for the children of working mothers. In order to encourage expansion of the work force, retirement age will be made more flexible.
- * There will be greater cooperation between the defence establishment and the defence industries and the civilian economy, in order to expand the share of orders placed with local firms, expand reciprocal trade purchases in Israel by America, and encourage the retooling and technical updating of Israeli industry, under the stimulus of manufacturing for defence requirements.
- * We shall continue to develop the Lavie aircraft, ensuring that civilian industry is brought into the development and manufacturing processes.
- * Medical services and educational facilities intended for overseas nationals will be encouraged, primarily by the development of such centres in Israel by Jews and others.

- * The possibility will be examined of giving a partial income tax exemption for industrial, agricultural and tourism enterprises that invest in the development of their own companies, the exemption to be given in the same year, in order to encourage the expansion of such enterprises.
- * Employees will be encouraged to buy shares in the companies they work for, in order to deepen their involvement in their companies. Such purchases will be recognized for tax allowances.
- * In order to encourage the transfer of workers from public and financial services to companies - mainly industrial firms - working for export, the government will finance the necessary professional training, and grant a partial exemption from income tax during their first two years' work in export firms, to the workers concerned.
- * The capital market, an essential instrument for mobilizing investment funds for the development of the economy, will be strengthened. If stability is restored to the economy, this market will be able to carry out its function, and contribute to the renewal of confidence in the Israel economy.
- We will not revive the "Peace for Galilee" levy. The Bank of Israel and the government will supervise the capital market more closely, in order to prevent harm to the public by speculators. Among other measures, we shall introduce legislation to prevent the exploitation of inside information by monopolistic bodies; there will be increased supervision of mutual funds and of the managers of investment portfolios, the conflict of interest between banks and their clients will be reduced, and investment advi-

ory companies will be encouraged to operate on the stock market, in competition with the banks.

3. Stability will be restored, and the public's confidence in the economy renewed by reducing inflation and encouraging public and private savings.

- * Printing of money by the government, which accelerates inflation, will be reduced. This will be accomplished mainly by cutting government expenditure. There will be reduced expenditure in Lebanon, in the administered areas and in the payment of political benefits. For an interim period, limits will be placed on government purchases and the hiring of additional workers in the civil service and in government-supported institutions. The labour force in this sector will thus be reduced, as a result of the retirement of several thousand workers annually. The growth of the economy will gradually reduce the proportion of the gross national income spent on defence.
- 4. We shall seek a national agreement on social and economic matters between the government, the Histadrut and other economic bodies, in order to stabilize the economy by reducing the rate at which prices rise, trimming profit margins, taxes and service tariffs, and stabilizing wages. This agreement will open the way for renewed development, a change in the structure of the economy and in employment patterns and an increase in productivity and employment possibilities. The agreement will be based on the public's participation in the national effort needed to achieve these objectives.
- 5. Tax reform will be introduced, the objectives including the re-establishment of a proper balance between the collection of taxes from the wage earning sector, companies and the self-employed. Taxation will be simplified, the assessment administration and tax base will be expanded, and collection will be augmented. Taxation will be reduced for the manufacturing and export branches and those employed in them, for those who transfer from jobs in the services to these branches, for demobilized soldiers, and for those working on second and third shifts. The law covering taxation in an inflationary economy will not be renewed. Incentives will be offered, to encourage the payment of tax at the time the corresponding income is earned. The fight against the black money economy will be put into high gear, and tax collection processes will be made more efficient. Tax reform will be consistent with encouraging economic growth, and with maintaining a just distribution of the taxation burden. To achieve this, a national committee of experts will be set up, to decide what changes are necessary in taxation. This committee will examine the present tax structure and the possibilities for reform, specifically along these lines: the unification of the assessment administration for income tax, national insurance and value added tax, and the setting up of one central authority; the unification of the collection system for these levies, and for the land betterment tax; unifying property assessment, so that assessments for any particular year will be accepted by all government agencies.
- 6. Real wages will be maintained and the standard of living will go up, in line with increased output and productivity. This will allow our economic situation to be improved, and full employment maintained. In this connection, priority will be given to low income groups, and those working in manufacturing and for export.
- 7. Strengthening the sense of joint social responsibility, reducing social gaps, and reinforcing national unity will be

achieved primarily by measures in the fields of education and housing, by narrowing gaps in the wage structure, and by promoting full employment.

- * In this connection, there will be a re-examination of the conditions applying to housing assistance for young couples, families and singles with low income, and for those living in development towns and neighbourhoods. The mortgage repayments of these groups will be related to their average wages. There will be increased research and development, in order to increase the efficiency of construction and reduce costs.
- The construction of rental housing will be encouraged, as will community initiative for improving housing conditions. State land will be made available at preferential terms in development towns and residential neighbourhoods, and for the building of housing for young couples.
- Planning will be reintroduced in the housing and construction branch, in order to stabilize it, and prevent violent swings in prices and employment.
- * Project Renewal will be revived, and residential neighbourhoods enlarged, and they will be provided with more public facilities. Some eighty new neighbourhoods will be brought into the project; the participation of residents in the rehabilitation process will be deepened, and more "adoption" will be arranged of such neighbourhoods in the Diaspora.
- * There will be a complete change in the state's attitude to pensioners. This will include the enactment of a comprehensive national pensions law, which will safeguard the rights of pensioners and workers in regard to National Insurance retirement pensions, and also in regard to wage-related pensions. Retirement age will be made more flexible, and the difference between men and women in this respect will be abolished. The erosion of pensions will be prevented, by linking them to average wages.
- * Concessions granted to demobilized soldiers will be equalized with those enjoyed by new immigrants, account being taken of residential area and family status.
- * Agricultural planning will be reintroduced, and emphasis will be placed on rehabilitating those moshavim that have suffered as a result of the violent reversal of agricultural policy.
- 9. The development of tourism will be accelerated, and it will be classified as an export industry, account being taken of the special advantages of tourism in Israel in this respect. The policies for aviation and tourism will be coordinated, and will be formulated so as to encourage marketing, internal tourism and the development of the infrastructure of tourism. These policies will be subject to a comprehensive master plan.
- 10. The development of energy sources will be achieved in accordance with a long term, overall plan. This plan will include the establishment of the infrastructure necessary for the construction of nuclear power stations, and the completion of the preparations for the erection of the first such station. The changeover to the coal firing of power stations will continue. Increased efforts will be put into developing alternative energy sources, including solar energy, and shale oil. A broad programme will be elaborated and applied for economy in energy use. There will be tight coordination in this respect between the political system, the defence sector and the economy.
- 11. Economic development will be stepped up in the Arab and Druse sectors, in the framework of an overall plan. The emphasis here will be placed on industry, the operation of workshops, tourism, and vocational training, in order to facilitate the absorption of educated members of

the younger generation in suitable employment.

12. Special attention will be given to encouraging small scale industry and workshops, in order to bring them into the national economic effort. A law will be introduced, covering the licensing of workshop owners, and a workshop council will be appointed. Trading companies will be established which will facilitate the centralizing and expansion of the export marketing of the output of this sector. Workshop parks will be set up, in consultation with the government and representatives of the branch.

13. To promote the realization of this economic programme, government reform will be introduced. This will involve the delegation of some of the authority of the central government, the simplification and streamlining of government administration, and the establishment of a broad information programme that will allow the public to understand the factors involved in national policy decisions.

14. A general examination of government companies will be undertaken. While the government will retain control of the planning, development and administration policies of these companies, the possibility will be investigated of the limited sale of shares in the companies to the public in Israel and abroad, and to the employees. This action will be taken with a view to increasing the contribution of these companies in achieving national economic objectives, primarily increasing their output and exports.

15. In order to realize this programme, national priorities must be reordered:

- * To give priority to wage earners and the self-employed who support themselves by their work, and the work of these sectors, particularly where this work contributes to exports and replacing imports.
- * To prefer savings over wasteful consumption.
- * To give priority to development areas in the Jerusalem region, Galilee, the South, the Negev, the Jordan Valley and the Golan Heights, and development towns, and to build centres of advanced industry in these locations.
- * To give priority to the production and export branches.

16. Economic and social policies will be subject to an overall master plan, which will set out objectives and methods for achieving them.

This plan will reflect coordinated national, economic and social planning. In this way, it will be possible to increase the public's awareness of, and participation in, rehabilitation and the renewing of economic and social growth, and prevent violent swings in implementing the plan.

In the planning process, the directions of long term trends in the development of the economy, regional development, and infrastructure and welfare development will be worked out. The re-establishment of social stability and increasing the economy's growth potential are essential preconditions for rebuilding the public's faith in the future.

17. When a new government is formed the drafting of a new state budget will be undertaken, on the basis of different priorities. The budget year will be changed, and brought into line with national accounting, i.e., it will be based on the calendar year.

We are aware of the rigidity inherent in the budget (resulting from the need to comply with laws on the statute book, to repay loans, wages, etc.). Nevertheless, the budget must be restructured, after a re-examination is carried out of government expenditures, and the need and contribution made by these expenditures.

אמת
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מפלגת הפועלים המאוחדת
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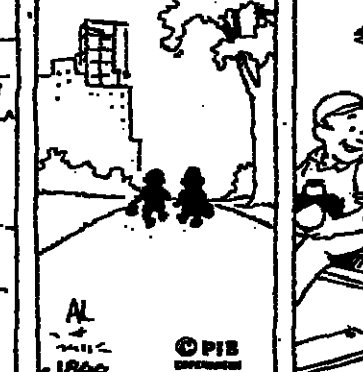
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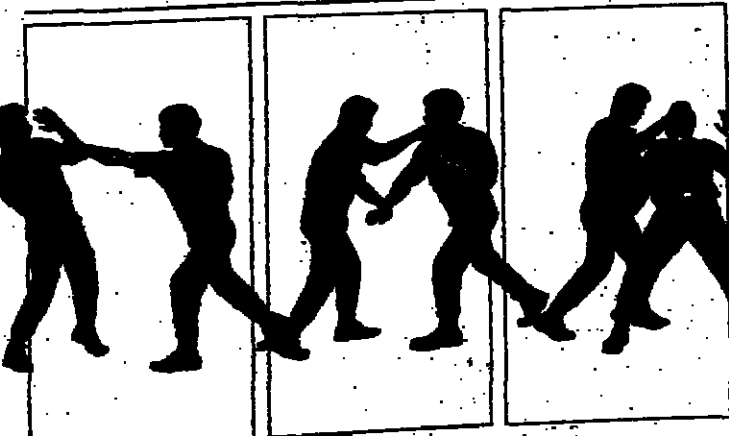
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by Col. David Ben-Asher
translated by Miriam Schlesinger



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Eilat: 7.29 p.m. — 8.25 p.m.

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JERUSALEM

JERUSALEM GREAT SYNAGOGUE, Friday, Mincha 10:15; Ma'ariv 7:20. Shabbat, Shacharit 8:00, Mincha 2:30; Ma'ariv 8:25. Cantor Nafali Herzig and the Jerusalem Great Synagogue Choir, under the direction of Eli Jaffe.

YESHURIN JERUSALEM SYNAGOGUE, Friday Mincha 2:30; Shacharit 8:00; Ma'ariv 8:30. Shabbat, Shacharit 8:00, Mincha 2:30; Ma'ariv 8:30. Hazan: ASHER HAINOVITZ.

WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES, Conservative, 4 Agon Friday, Mincha 6:00, Shacharit 8:00, Dvar Torah: Rabbi Yosef Green, Hazan: Dov Kaplan.

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Italian Synagogue at Museum of Italian Art, 27 Rehov Hahit, Mincha, Friday, 30 min. after candle lighting, Shabbat, Shacharit 8 a.m.

Mar-EI Synagogue (Progressive) In Shmuel Haimel, Tel. 02-223841, Friday 6:30 p.m. Shabbat morning 9:30 a.m. Rabbi Tova Ben-Horin.

Great Synagogue, Tel Aviv, 110 Allenby Rd. Services conducted by Tel Aviv Chief Rabbi Avraham Pressman. Rambam shir before Kabbalat Shabbat by Synagogue President Avraham Hazon. Mincha 7:40, Shacharit 8:00. Kiddush after prayers. Air-conditioned hall.

Congregation Ahavat Israel (Progressive), 22 Ohi Hagardim, Kabbalat Shabbat 6:30 p.m., Shacharit 9:00 a.m.

Redeemer Church (Lutheran) Maristan Rd. Old City, Jerusalem, Sunday Worship 9:00 a.m. Tel. 28243, 28920.

Christ Church (Anglican) opp. Citadel, 8 a.m. Holy Communion, 9:30 a.m. Family service, 6:45 p.m. Evening service.

Baptist Congregation 4 Narkes, West Jerusalem: Saturday services 9:00 a.m. Hebrew: 10:30 a.m. English: Tel. 22542.

St. Andrew's Church of Scotland, near Hahayon Station, Sunday Morning service, 10 a.m.

CHRISTIAN

Jerusalem Christian Assembly (Pentecostal Assembly of Canada) 7:30 p.m. Sunday at the YMCA (20 King David), Tel. 02-723984.

Immanuel Church (Lutheran) Tel Aviv-Jaffa, 15 Rehov Beit Haiman (near 17 Rehov Eilat) Tel. 520654. Saturday Service 11 a.m. Service in English every Sunday at 10 a.m.

HAIFA

Elles Church (Lutheran) Haifa, 43 Mer Street, Saturday Service 11 a.m. Tel. 04-525851.

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Baptist Village Congregation, 2 km. north of Petah Tikva, Saturday Service, Bible study 9:30 a.m., Worship 10:30 a.m., Tel. 052-32532.

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SATURDAY

Jerusalem: Mount Olives, 267489, Balcum, Salah Eddin, 272315, Shu'fat Road, 810108, Dar Aldawa, Herod's Gate, 282058. Tel Aviv: Yehuda Hamacabi, 42 Yehuda Hamacabi, 455198, Sdeh Dov, Tichin Lamed, 428310. Petah Tikva: Pinter, 2 Pinter, 910505. Netanya: Hadassah, 24 Herzl, 22243. Haifa: Hania, 22 Hania, 221905.

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New Ramot, 4, large balcony, cupboards, bargain, Sharon (Malden), 22,139.

Gilo, 3, unfurnished, 175, no cap, 02-22339, afternoons.

Givat Mordechai, 4, 4th floor, phone, 230, 66,736, afternoons, weekdays.

Givat Mordechai, 3, partially furnished, 2nd floor, for sale, 02-96194, weekdays.

Kiryat Arye, 4 large, furnished, unfurnished, 375, 02-61512.

Kiryat Menahem, 3 + dinette, solar boiler, phone, cupboards, immediate, 02-53807.

Kiryat Moshe, 3, 2nd floor, phone, for religious use, 52,486.

Kiryat Moshe, 3, dinette, partially furnished, 3rd floor, solar boiler, 21,630, not Shabbat.

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Near Theatre, quiet, beautiful, 3, phone, immediate, 02-63189.

Neve Yavon, Mitzvah, 3 rooms, phone, cupboards, 02-85947, weekdays.

Neve Yavon, excellent location, 3/2, for rent from August, 24,996, 81,426.

Old Katamon, and Makor Haim, 3, phone, for family, 71,825.

Ramat Eshkol, 3 + dinette, long term, 02-81704.

Ramat Eshkol, 3, 2nd floor, phone, partially furnished, 02-54177, 02-25870.

Ramat Eshkol, 3, 2nd floor, phone, cupboards, 260, 63,934.

Ramat Shalom, 3, dinette, well-arranged, 42,779, evenings, not Shabbat.

Ramat, 3, 3rd floor, American kitchen, 22,750, 23,871.

Ramat, 3, dinette, solar boiler, heating, phone, 55-8477, weekdays.

Ramat, 3, phone, cupboards, 83,779, not Shabbat.

Ramat, 4, spacious, phone, short term, 02-81928.

Rashbi, Ben Zakkai, 3/2, balconies, phone, 161, 02-24115, 02-41729.

Rashbi, 3, 2nd floor, phone, partly furnished, 225, 1st, 02-63938.

Rehavia, 3, 2nd floor, view, immediate, 02-61115, 02-63872.

Rehavia, 5, furnished/unfurnished, 02-66677, evenings, 02-5403.

San Martin, 3 + dinette, furnished, solar boiler, immediate, 170, 72,151.

Talpiot, 3, phone, heating, 8250, 22,450, 69,026.

Talpiot, Rivka, immediate, 3 1/2, lift, heating, 02-35417.

Talpiot, for rent, 3/2, furnished, 24,732, evening, 02-71072.

Tel-Aviv, 3 1/2, a furnished, balcony, for year from August, option, 02-61975.

Tzameret Haim, terraced, 3, separate entrance, 02-20041, 02-81977.

Uziel, 3/2, phone, 2nd floor, long term, immediate, 02-66925.

Amnon Hazzan, flat for rent, 4, furnished, solar boiler, 72,150.

Gilo, immediate, 3, partially furnished + phone, 37,335, 82,972.

Mevasseret, Nof Haim, cottage flat, 4, new, 02-54312, 02-57795.

Old Katamon, 4, storerooms, 2nd floor, key, 80, Keys at Anglo-Saxon (Malden), 02-22161.

Ramat, 3, 2nd floor, solar boiler, central heating, phone, 86,165, weekdays.

Ramat, 3, phone, 2nd floor, solar boiler, heating, 86,165, weekdays.

Ramat-Rasso, 3/2, large balcony, immediate, 02-42976, not Shabbat.

Baka, 2, + roof, separate entrance, 2nd floor, 24,749, 24,744.

Beit Hakerem, 4 rooms, 8th floor, phone, beautiful view, 81,733.

Beit Hakerem, 2, unfurnished, 2nd floor, for sale, 02-96194, weekdays.

Beit Hakerem, 3, 2nd floor, partially furnished, immediate, Tel. 02-72097, 24,592.

Beit Hakerem, 4, 3rd floor, solar boiler, phone, heating, lift, central, 66,855.

Talpiot, 4/2, cupboards, phone, long term, 330, for religious, Tivich Bier, 23,231, Malden.

Tzameret Haim, 3, balcony, FICI in suburbs, 25,821, 22,806, Malden.

Uziel, 4, dining corner, view, balconies, 325, Tel. 22,783, 32,413.

3 + heating and phone in Beit Hakerem, Hazzan, 02-52641, 02-62891.

Amnon Hazzan, 4, partially furnished + phone, long term, Tel. 53,608.

Beit Hakerem, 2, 1st floor, view, for 2 years, 21,072, not Shabbat.

Lincoln, 2/2, balconies, for couple, heating, phone, 2nd floor, 63,162.

Palnash, 3, fully furnished, phone, heating, immediate, 64,379.

Palnash, 2nd floor, phone, 02-81,688, not Shabbat.

Rehavia, for religious, 3, 2nd floor, from August, also tourists, 02-42118.

San Simon, 4 rooms, furnished, phone, for year, from August, 02-4845.

San Simon, 3/2, furnished, phone, 4th floor, 667,359.

Uzriyeh, 4/2, beautiful, phone, heating, lift, for year, 41,634.

4 + phone in Ramat Eshkol, 2nd floor, solar boiler, new furniture, 02-74816.

3 fully furnished in Gilo, possible for summer, 02-87520.

For well to do in Ramat Eshkol, villa, 2 1/2 + phone + garden and privacy, 02-81142.

Furnished apartment for August required in Ramat and Ramat Eshkol, 02-86148.

Bayit Vegon, Uziel, 4, 2nd floor, complete, beautiful view, Oscar Realty, 23,834.

French Hill, 3 furnished, phone, lift, Mitzvah, 24,940, 81,675.

Gilo, 3, furnished, phone, solar boiler, storerooms, 02-43671.

Gilo, 3, nicely furnished, phone, solar boiler, ground floor, 67,257.

Kiryat Hayovel, 2/2, furnished, phone, long term, 73,078, afternoons.

Kiryat Hayovel, 2, furnished, phone, long term, 73,078, afternoons.

Kiryat Shmuel, 5/2, lovely, from today or August, Avi Cohen, Malden.

Near Ezer Refaim, 2, beautiful, 230, top floor, 02-81,005, 02-71672.

Rehavia, 3/2, well furnished, for August-September, 63,161, 23,813.

Talpiot, 3/2 + balconies, washing machine, phone, 63,883, 64,643.

Talpiot, 5, special and well kept, exclusive to Avi Cohen, Malden, 22,922, 23,125.

German Colony, 3 rooms, phone, for students/family, 02-69443, 02-24772.

German Colony, special, 2, phone, private entrance, 02-66041.

Givat Haim, 2, 2nd floor, flat, furnished, phone, in villa, 81,775.

Givat Haim, 4, for July, for religious use, 1st floor, 02-57178.

Hapalmach, 2/2, with garden, 260, Anglo-Saxon, 02-22161, Malden.

Immediate for mature couple, monthly rental, long term, 1st, ground floor, phone, heating, central heating, one year in advance, 02-418990.

Required for immediate purchase, 3-4 room flat, good area, convenient floor, immediate payment, Kedai, 22,271, 24,980-1.

Seeking 3-4 room flat, Ramat Eshkol, French Hill, 02-81,005, 02-71672.

French Hill, 3, furnished, phone, heating, 24,388, 81,627, Malden.

Purchase Sale

Dining set, stereo, baby carriage, material, and household items. 02-69228.

Dining set, stereo, baby carriage, material, and household items. 02-69228.

Due to departure, microwave oven, sleeper couch

The great damp squib

TELEREVIEW / Philip Gillon

THE GREAT Television Debate between the leaders of the two main parties produced no fireworks: after the build-up given to it, it proved to be something of a damp squib.

Both Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and leader of the opposition Shimon Peres are extremely courteous and civilized gentlemen: on TV both wore natty dark blue suits, quiet, dark ties and light shirts. Moderator Dan Patir wore a somewhat lighter blue suit and tie, but he was also polished, elegant and genteel. Everybody was excessively polite to everyone else. We might have been witnessing a discussion in the Athenaeum or some other English club.

Patir's system was to ask each leader set questions in turn. They had probably prepared their answers in advance and learned them off by heart. The effect was to produce a series of hardly original or startling statements about their different positions instead of a tension-packed duel.

Neither Shamir nor Peres is a great demagogue or rabble-rouser. They did not bait each other. This was no shoot-out at the O.K. corral.

As a result, at no stage did we get the type of discussion programme that Amnon Rubinstein and Yaron London used to conduct, in which both sides, urged on by the hosts, yelled and screamed at each other like barges whose vessels have crashed together. On those programmes nobody was allowed to fin-

ish a sentence without interruption, and no intelligible sounds emerged. This kind of thing is very exasperating, but it can generate a certain air of excitement.

I hasten to add that I personally hate these yelling matches, except when I engage in one myself at a cocktail party, and far prefer the civilized style of Tuesday night's discussion. But I must admit that it was somewhat anticlimactic.

ON THE MERITS of the arguments, I naturally thought that Peres came out far superior because the objective facts of our appalling condition scream so loudly for a change of government.

Poor Shamir could hardly put up a convincing defence of the Likud's handling of the economy, the war in Lebanon and the social issues, so ghostly is the mess the Likud has made of these things. He did much better on foreign policy.

A couple of months ago, on the Arabic programme, he told a woman interviewer that he knew nothing about economics when he became prime minister and was making frantic efforts to learn what it was all about.

But at least he was not guilty on Tuesday night of the gross affront contained in the general Likud propaganda, as advanced by such profound economic thinkers as Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orad, Minister of Industry and Trade Gideon Pat and actor Sefi Rivlin. It makes me want to throw things at the TV set, or at least throw up, when these characters tell us, "You never had it so good as under the Likud!"

With our stock exchange wiped out; our savings decimated; our real earnings slashed; our agriculture ruined; our industry bankrupt; our universities virtually closed down; our schools in a state of collapse and inflation running at 400 per cent, telling us that we all became millionaires under Likud is adding insult to injury.

Of course we are all millionaires, in a way, because the value of our shekel has been brought so low. The Likud has worked this trick twice: they made us *lira* millionaires; now—*abra-cadabra*—they've done it with shekels.

Admittedly, there must be a few

thousand people, the rich friends of the government, who made vast fortunes out of public funds squandered on the West Bank and in the Lebanon War.

The amazing thing about the Likud is that it is so much a rich man's private enterprise and yet gets away with claiming to be the poor man's friend. It's like a wolf functioning as a sheep dog, and the sheep bleating approval.

Summing up, I would speculate that Shamir was ordered by his public relations boys to show that, despite his lack of height, he can play the role of a father figure, the assumption being that Israelis love a patriarch. Peres had been instructed by his team to demonstrate sincerity, to counteract the Likud propaganda which presents him as a tricky guy.

On the whole, I would say that both of them succeeded, although Shamir came across as a benevolent papa rather than the autocrat that Israelis apparently revere.

THE DEBATE may have heartened the converted among the viewers,

and may have convinced them that the party of their choice is the right one to vote for on July 23. It may also have helped some of the doubtful make up their minds about which way they should cast their ballots on the fateful day.

But I doubt whether the nightly raucous TV propaganda provided by the two major parties is affecting voters' opinions in any way.

True, the whole nation watches these programmes with absorbed attention and they provide material for animated discussion on the following day. But I have a feeling that the reaction is rather like watching a continuous series of games, like Wimbledon or the World Series or the NBA play-offs. The big question is, "Who do you think won last night?" not "Do you know now which party you'll vote for?"

We award points rather like judges of a boxing bout, the great difference between boxing and the ongoing Likud-Alignment quarrel being that we never see any signs of the noble art of self-defence.

The methods used by the two parties remind me of a bar-room brawl in a Western (since this is the

wild, wild East, the analogy is very apt).

In such a film Black Hat goes up to White Hat and gives him a terrific clout on the jaw. White Hat goes flying right across the saloon, in the process breaking several tables and chairs into smithereens. White Hat gets up and goes for Black Hat, who stands waiting, with his hands down, making no effort to block, duck or slip the punch he knows is coming. POW!!! White Hat hits him over the bar counter into the array of bottles on the back shelves. These collapse in a mass of broken glass.

Up gets Black Hat and saunters over to White Hat, who also waits for the punch that's coming with his hands down; he too knows no way of stopping a fist except with his fist. YOWWWWW!!!! Off he flies through the window into the street.

But he comes back through the door. Black Hat politely proffers his jaw. ZOWWWWW!!!! This time Black Hat brings down the entire staircase.

The great difference between our television battles and the film Westerns is that, in the latter, the producer has decided who is the goodie and who the baddie. Here we are free to make our own choice, and I imagine that this inevitably influences our allocation of points.

For instance, if I were a Likud supporter, I would consider Sefi Rivlin my hero. With his protruding exophthalmic eyes, he bears a certain resemblance to Popeye, and he certainly packs a punch as if he dined exclusively on spinach. Of course, to me he seems a vicious ruffian, more like Pluto than Popeye.

By comparison, the Gashash Habiver Alignment battlers are gentlemen. Corinthians, clean fighters like Gene Tunney or Muhammad Ali. Unlike Rivlin, they never hit below the belt, gouge eyeballs or butt with their heads.

It is curious that, as election day comes closer, the comedians on both

sides get more and more serious. They have stopped playing for laughs but make effective points, just as if they were serious politicians.

Judge Gavriel Bach's intervention to reduce the verbal violence of the propaganda and counter-propaganda, and to lessen the invasions of privacy of individuals appearing on camera, was entirely justified, but he did also reduce the excitement generated by the nightly TV match. For instance, interest was at fever-pitch when that oddball woman from Kiryat Shmona was the burning issue each night.

But, with the utmost respect to Judge Bach, I cannot for the life of me understand why he allowed Meir Kahane to preach genocide. His programme on Monday night was open incitement to launch blood-filled attacks against the Arabs.

In arguments about violence on television, one of the complaints is that we are allowed to see shots of blood flowing all over the place. The defenders of these films generally answer that the red stuff shown to us is really tomato ketchup or some other substitute for the real thing.

In the case of Kahane, however, I suspect that real blood was used; no doubt it was provided by a volunteer, either a crazed Kach supporter or a passing Arab.

Another application of the law that I found bewildering was the decision not to show us Professor Efraim Katzir's face on the news during his press conference in Paris. We saw his wife, his glasses and his hands, but never a glimpse of his features. The explanation was that he is Number 120 on the Alignment list.

Now even I do not expect the Alignment to get that many seats. So, what possible harm could have been done by letting us see how the ex-president was reacting to his arrest in the USSR?

ISRAEL'S ONLY HOPE IS IN YOUR HANDS!

All those who hope for a democratic, peaceful and secure Israel, are invited to hear

ABBA EBAN

SATURDAY, JULY 14 at 9:00 PM in KIBBUTZ SHEFAYIM, and

MONDAY, JULY 16 at 8:00 PM in HAIFA at Beit Harofe

For information about how you can help the Alignment English speaking campaign, call 03-237418

המערך הוא התקווה היחידה

Choosing a leader

TORA TODAY / Rabbi Pinchas Hacohen Peli

specify the qualifications he would like to find in the appointee.

According to Rashi, the classical commentator, (and the Midrash), the implicit meaning of Moses' prayer to God is as follows:

"Sovereign of the universe, thou knowest the minds of all men, and how the mind of one man differs from that of another. Appoint over them a leader who will be able to bear with the differing spirits of every one of your children."

The true leader is not a single-minded fanatic, but a person able to tolerate all views. "A man over the congregation," one who is above petty party politics.

When God responds to Moses' prayer, naming Joshua as the future leader (verse 18), he describes him as "a man in whom there is spirit." Here Rashi comments: "a man who knows how to stand up against the spirit of each one of them," to teach

us that to be tolerant does not necessarily imply passivity or spinelessness. A good leader must know his own mind, he must be able to stand up for his views. At the same time he must be open to other views, he must be capable of changing his mind, of freeing himself from preconceived ideas. He must not be the type who declares: "My mind is made up — don't confuse me with facts."

AMONG THE "signs" of deterioration which will occur prior to the arrival of the Messiah, the Talmud mentions *nei hador kifnei ha-kelav* leaders with the character of a dog.

Comments the famous rabbi known as Hafetz Haim: A dog usually runs ahead in front of his master, and it looks as if he is leading the way. In fact, however, the dog stops from time to time to look back and see in which direction the master wants to go. A leader who keeps

looking back to see where the masses want him to go is no leader and is likened to a dog.

What other qualities, besides a firm and open mind, does Moses want to find in his successor? "A man that will go before them." An ancient midrash (*Sifrei*) interprets this in the following way: "Not like kings of other nations who send their troops into battle while they themselves stay behind, but someone who goes before his troops."

For many years, the pride of the IDF and a great part of its "secret weapon" was the fact that the command to go into battle or any other dangerous operation, was not "Go!" but "Aharai! — Follow me!" Ironically, some would say, that same slogan is still used by many Israeli leaders and politicians nowadays — only now it is applied to a Knesset seat, to a trip abroad, to a raise in salary or fringe benefits, *Aharai!* — first me

and then you can follow...

Moses goes on asking that his successor be one "who may lead them out (to war) and who may bring them in." Moses knew that it is one thing to take a people out to war and another to get them out of war and bring them back home. The second task is much harder. A true leader has to be capable of both.

And the Lord said to Moses: "Take thee Joshua the son of Nun." Joshua, we know, was Moses' closest aide for years. He was the "young man who departed not out of Moses' tent" (Exodus 33:11), and yet Moses did not think of him as his successor until told by God: Here is your man, in your own back yard. "Lay thine hand on him."

Moses does what he is told and he does it wholeheartedly. Instead of laying one hand, he "laid both his hands upon him" (27: 23). Thus a leader was chosen and entrusted with the tremendous task of taking the people into their long awaited Promised land.

Pinchas (Numbers 25:100-30:1) is the portion of the Bible read in the synagogue on Saturday July 14. The commentator is professor of Jewish Philosophy and Literature at the Ben Gurion University of the Negev.



STATE OF ISRAEL
OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
BUREAU OF DEPUTY MINISTER DOV SHILANSKY

TO DISCHARGED SOLDIERS

In response to many inquiries directed to my office, I am pleased to take this opportunity to inform you that on 2 Tammuz 4744 (July 2, 1984) the Knesset passed the "Discharged Soldiers Law, 5744-1984."

The principal provisions of the law are:

1. A discharged soldier will receive priority in job referrals by the employment services.
2. Discharged soldiers will be given preference in jobs awarded by tender.
3. Discharged soldiers will be eligible for priority in acceptance in job training programmes, as well as for partial waiver of tuition fees for these programmes.
4. The State Treasury will pay for three-fourths of the tuition of a discharged soldier completing his/her secondary school education.
5. Discharged soldiers will be eligible for priority in student housing allocations.
6. Discharged soldiers will be eligible for tuition loans to pay for higher education above and beyond the usual financial aid.
7. Discharged soldiers will be eligible for many income tax benefits; these benefits are in part a substitute for the waiver of purchase and excise taxes on basic goods of the type received by new immigrants.

This law will take effect immediately upon its publication in "Reshumot." The privileges of a discharged soldier under this law are yours for three years from the day on which you were discharged.

Those interested in receiving a copy of the full text of the law (in Hebrew) may request one from the bureau of Deputy Minister Dov Shilansky, The Prime Minister's Office, Jerusalem.

THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE FAMILIES OF THE DETAINEES

The Association thanks all who generously responded to our call, and contributed towards the maintenance of the families of the detainees. The Association asks the public to continue to support it, so that it may continue to provide monthly maintenance payments to the 27 families and 130 children. The Association asks the various bodies and parties that took initiative in this matter, and who spontaneously organized in a number of centres in Israel, to transfer the monies collected to: United Mizrahi Bank, Ben-Yehuda branch, Jerusalem, account no. 382500.

In grateful appreciation:
Rabbi Dov Eliezeroff, Jerusalem
Leah Abramowitz, Jerusalem
Dr. Yossi Uthbach, Jerusalem
Prof. Eliezer Goldschmidt, Rehovot
Rabbi Zephania Drori, Kiryat Shmona
Eliezer Halevi, Tel Aviv
Rabbi Zeev Whiteman, Kfar Etzion
Meir Hovav, Jerusalem
Rabbi Aharon Lichtenstein, Yeshivat Har Etzion

Dr. Dani Malach, Jerusalem
Dr. Yosef Minnan, Alon Shvut
Alexander Melicki, Bnei Brak
Rabbi Shlomo Min-Hahar, Jerusalem
Natan Neugreshel, Jerusalem
Rabbi Yehuda Amital, Yeshivat Har Etzion
Rabbi Yitzhak Kister, Jerusalem
Rachel Shalkovsky, Jerusalem
Dr. Shimon Shershevsky, Jerusalem
Shachna Rotem, Jerusalem

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Presentation of subscriber card at "Hadran," 90 Ibn Gvirol, Tel Aviv, or at "Kia'im," 8 Shamai St. Jerusalem, entitles bearer to a 25% DISCOUNT on tickets for the following performances:
Tel Aviv, Mann Auditorium Today, Friday, July 13, 2.30 p.m.
Caesarea, Amphitheatre Tuesday, July 17, 9 p.m.
Jerusalem, Binyanei Ha'uma Thursday, July 19, 9 p.m.

Performance even, discounts at box offices.

The Jerusalem Post and the Southern Region AACI invite you to a debate

between the two big parties

on Wednesday, July 18 at 8 p.m.

Moderator — Liora Moriel
Place — Beersheba AACI Mosdon
Tel. 057-424266
The program will be in English

ACTING CLASSES (in English)

Theatre games, improvisations, characterization, scene work, etc. Children (8-12), teenagers (13-18), and adults — 3-4 weeks in August.
Also, special workshop: Musical Theatre.
Limited enrolment. Central Tel Aviv (air conditioned).
Tel. 03-250832.

VOLUNTEERS WANTED

Archaeological Digs at Nabata, with Adam Zarbal, from August 12 to September 7.
Details and registration: Mador Lapidot Ha'aretz, 30 Bnei Gairol, P.O.B. 40018, Tel Aviv, Tel. 03-217154/1, 2, 5.
Participation is voluntary (unpaid), one week minimum participation.



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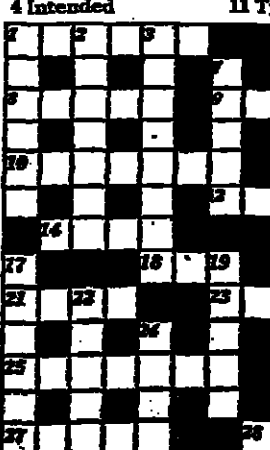
ACROSS
1. Thru, 4. Traffic, 5. Spiny, 9. Imp, 10. Photo, 11. Naughty, 13. Mags, 15. Trader, 17. Knesset, 20. Idea, 21. Corridor, 22. Rider, 23. Op, 27. Swirl, 28. Discard, 29. Fixed, 30. Down, 31. Jumper, 32. Win, 33. Zone, 34. Trying, 35. Adieu, 36. Fishes, 37. Cuts, 38. Air, 39. Acid, 40. Abuse, 41. Barter, 42. Sacred, 43. Dumbest, 44. Crowd, 45. Image, 46. Deter.

DOWN
1. Irritable, 2. One turn (snag), 3. Defraud, 4. Burrowing animal, 5. Yellowish colour, 6. Put on a leash, 7. Intone, 8. Heaven, 9. Ironical understatement, 10. Surgical instrument, 11. Resided, 12. Mediterranean island, 13. Currency, 14. Surrender

QUICK CROSSWORD

1 Banknote (coll.)
4 Intended

8 Short thick digit.
10 Where earth meets sky
11 Type of chess



12 Summit
14 Ledge dye
15 Friend
16 Close
17 Weaponry
18 Affluent
19 Hide
20 Bury
21 Harp
22 Against

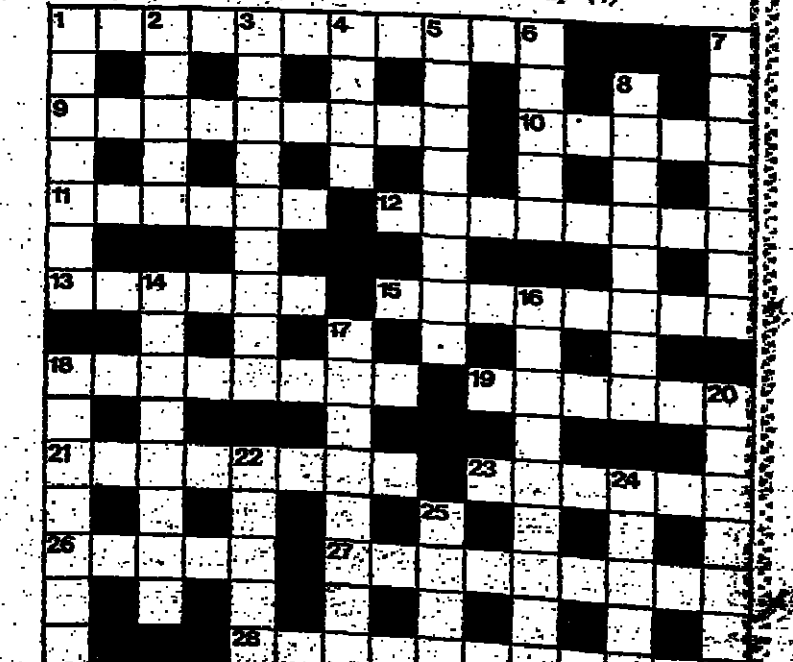
1 Irritable
2 One turn (snag)
3 Defraud
4 Burrowing animal
5 Yellowish colour
6 Put on a leash
7 Intone
8 Heaven
9 Ironical understatement
10 Surgical instrument
11 Resided
12 Mediterranean island
13 Currency
14 Surrender

THE BAHÁ'Í HOLY PLACE at Bahjí, near Acre, known as the Shrine of Bahá'U'lláh, will be closed from August 1 through October 15, 1984. The gardens, as usual, will be open to the public.

ONE-AND-ONE CROSSWORD

ACROSS
1 May be bought to gain some mechanical advantage (11)
9 Defender not left at the front (5, 4)
10 Maxim of old Nishani Nevgorod (5)
11 First prize, say, for the club (6)
12 Widespread form of chore (8)
13 Strive without cessation to be fashionable (6)
15 Rocky height scaled by Mr Richard at No. 1 in the charts (5, 5)
18 Put a strain on one's bank balance (8)
19 Not part of the equipment for climbers on frozen peaks (5, 5)
21 Tributes Sue recalled about Mr Baird (8)
23 Decorative material small firm initially cuts back (6)
26 Stylish, misfit in New York (5)
27 The common lot of supposedly ancient Greeks (3, 6)
28 Abandon the beaches for what the Sahara offers (6, 5)

DOWN
1 Mimic in part on edge (7)
2 For example, to recall in an uphill search in his lexicon (5)
3 Rash caused by sunstroke, perhaps (3, 6)
4 Smoked cormorant (4)
5 Superfluous advice to good pastrycooks in Derbyshire (8)
6 Agree anyhow, albeit a bore (5)
7 Destined for higher class, work (5, 2)
8 Sort of attic. Rex and occupy are aesthetic (8)
14 Doesn't look right from a military point of view (4, 4)
16 Particular aspect with debt that's amusing (9)
17 & 18 Said to show gratuitous generosity (4, 4, 3, 2, 2)
20 Is improved by a change of strip (7)
22 Made fun of a leader, it's said (5)
24 Fort, pronounced in the Caribbean (5)
25 Deceitful character showing the bird up (4)



Volume: lower still and lower

TEL AVIV. - The market is fading away. This is the unfortunate but unavoidable fact that has emerged from the trading, such as it was, on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange in the last few days. Each session has seen a further shrinkage in the turnover, with yesterday's IS330 million providing yet another new low.

With the "arrangement" banks down to IS200m., of which Bank Leumi alone provided over half, and the "free" shares totalling a paltry IS130m., it would seem that there is really nowhere left for the volume to fall to; but that has been said before, only to be rapidly proven wrong.

Nevertheless, a figure equivalent to only just above \$1.5m. does seem to make the point that the exchange would be better off trading only 2 or 3 days a week seem like a serious suggestion. It is hardly worth troubling everyone involved in trading operations to work, if this is the result.

The simple fact is that in the immediate pre-election days, everyone seems to have done the buying or, more often, selling that they want, and no one is interested in establishing new positions at this time, or changing or reducing the positions they still have.

As has been noted before, the trading in individual issues tends, in these circumstances, to become totally random. A fine example of this has been provided by the Danot IS1 shares. These fell yesterday by 10 per cent, but on almost every trading session this week they showed a swing of about 10 per cent in one or the other direction, ending up on the down-side of the see-saw.

It is unlikely that the present level of disinterest can be maintained for long, and sooner or later a trend will probably emerge - although this is

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By PINHAS LANDAU

not to be expected in the coming days, at least.

Announcements:
M.G.N. Oil and Gas Resources published its results for the year ending March 31, 1984. The company lost IS277.7m. after adjustment to inflation, compared to an equivalent IS66.1m. loss in 1982/3 (expressed in March 1984 shekels). A full 12 out of the 13 drillings that the company participated in during the year were written off as dry wells, with the 13th having only preliminary results.

Subsequent to the end of the financial year, M.G.N. bought a 10 per cent stake in the "Julie" well being drilled by the East Mediterranean Oil and Gas Corp., in which the main partners are J.O.E.L. and Isramco, and which is thought to be very promising.

The large nominal profit achieved (IS332.5m.) was entirely from financial operations, and the balance sheet at the end of the year showed only IS130,000 invested in oil and gas explorations, out of total assets of IS910.7m.

Avraham Gladi announced it had won a tender from the Israel Lands Authority for the purchase of a 42-dunam plot in a new development called Kiryat Rishon. The plot is designated for the construction of a swimming pool and sports centre. Gladi will pay IS40m. for the land, of which IS12m. will be in cash, and the remainder in 18 monthly payments, using bank credit.

MARKET STATISTICS

Indices

General share index	250.15	+0.36%
Non-bank index	196.26	+1.11%
Arrangement bank index	287.61	+0.11%
Industrial	206.87	+1.55%
Bond index		

Turnovers

Shares	IS330.1m.
Bonds	IS512.8m.
Total	193
Advances	149
Declines	44
of which 5% +	36
of which 5% -	8
"Buyers only"	8
"Sellers only"	8

Bond market trends

4% fully-linked	Mixed to 2%
3% fully-linked	Rises to 3%
80% linked	Stable/Rises to 3%
90% linked	Stable/Rises to 3%
Double-option	Rises to 3%
Dollar-linked	Rises to 3%

Most active shares

Leumi	3940	IS107.4m.	n.c.
Mizrahi	3780	IS 29.8m.	+80
Hapoel	6200	IS 26.8m.	-60

Sharpest moves

Freemover/70.5	-38	-35%
Pargod op.	91	+16.5
T.G.L. op.	40	-10

The company will also pay the Arim company IS21.7m., based on the April 1984 index, for infrastructure in the area. Of this, 40 per cent will be in cash and the rest in linked payments, bearing 5 per cent interest, over 2 years.

LONDON BANK RATES

	July 12, 1984	prev.	close
bank base rate	10	10	
call money	9	9	
91 day treasury	11	11	11%
3-months interbank	11%	12	

Lloyds Bank

Tax man asked math teacher for IS600 million too much

The income tax authorities assessed a Haifa mathematics teacher IS600 million too much for profits he made on the stock market, a state attorney told the High Court of Justice yesterday.

The court ordered the income tax commissioner to show cause within 45 days why he should not quash a IS712 million attachment order against the house and bank accounts of the teacher, David Levy. The commissioner was also ordered to explain why he should not summon Levy to a hearing in which the latter could raise his objections to being obligated to pay taxes on his market profits and to the assessment made.

Levy was arrested on March 29 by the investigations division of the Income Tax Commission on suspicion of not reporting or paying tax on profits he made on the stock market, an attachment order of IS712 million was issued against him. A month later he was ordered to pay an assessment of IS101 million.

Levy appealed to the Court of Justice against the assessment and

attachment. His lawyers told the justices that he was not obligated to report the income, since it was not from a profession or business.

The lawyers also said that the assessment and attachment were improper.

Senior assistant state attorney Elihu Ben-Tovim told the court that Levy had property worth \$900,000, (11m).

London stock prices plunge

LONDON (AP). - Share prices on the jumpy London stock market nosedived yesterday following a 2 percentage point hike in British interest rates as Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson denied there was an economic crisis.

The Press Association, Britain's domestic news agency, reported that the market plunge posed "a major collapse of confidence" in the City, London's financial district, in Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's problem-plagued government.

Dollar peaks

LONDON (AP). - The dollar surged to record closing highs against the French franc and the Italian lira and gained on all key currencies in nervous European trading yesterday. Gold prices were mixed.

Foreign exchange dealers said the dollar was boosted in early trading by forecasts of higher U.S. interest rates, but eased near the close amid reports that the Federal funds opening rate declined 7/8 of one percentage point, to around 11 per cent.

Trade & Services

The British Broadcasting Corp. said the slide, following a sharp downturn on Wall Street Wednesday, came amid "investors' fears bordering on panic."

But Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher sought to dampen anxiety in the wake of Wednesday's hike, the second increase in interest rates since last Friday.

She told the House of Commons: "The economy is basically in good shape."

Thursday's slump, the latest in a string of falls, came amid worsening labour unrest and anxiety over the price of North Sea oil.

Commercial Banks

(not part of "arrangement")	Closing price	Volume	Change	% change
OHF	2280	4	n.c.	
Maritime 0.1	1089	300	+69	+6.8
Maritime 0.5	327	147	+3	+0.9
N. American 1	1852	12	-8	-0.4
N. American 5	1905	2	n.c.	
N. Amer. op	2335	25	-12	-0.5
Danot 1	295	16	-33	-10.1
Danot 2	79	1460	+5	+6.7
Danot 3	300	30	+18	+6.0
First Int'l 0.5	355	1085	-15	-4.1
FIBI 0.5	369	367	-11	-2.9

Commercial Banks

(part of "arrangement")	Closing price	Volume	Change	% change
IDB 1	9195	200	+70	+0.8
IDB 2	9500	2	n.c.	
IDB 3	8800	2	n.c.	
IDB 4	11560	2	n.c.	
Unicom 0.1	11780	23	+120	+1.0
Unicom 0.5	1330	48	-30	-2.2
Unicom 1	3780	788	+80	+2.2
Mizrahi 1	3850	7	+125	+3.4
Mizrahi 5	1710	99	+45	+2.6

Real Estate - Building

Elon 1	513	22	+47	+10.1
Elon 5	338	175	n.c.	
Oren 1	302	30	+7	+3.6
Oren 5	79	83	+1	+1.3
Azaron Prop.	230	237	+5	+2.2
Azaron op	60	221	-5	-7.7
Elon op	50	60	+2	+4.2
Elon 1	159	-	-	-
Elon 5	180	s.o.i.	-9	-5.0
Elon 1	130	73	-9	-6.8
Elon 5	1901	-	-	-
Elon 1	1855	-	-13	-0.7
Elon 5	173	65	+16	+10.2
Elon 1	118	-	-	-
Elon 5	890	26	+8	+0.9
Elon 1	311	34	+3	+1.0
Elon 5	400	20	n.c.	
Elon 1	141	50	-7	-4.7
Elon 5	72	50	-4	-5.6
Elon 1	295	53	+7	+2.3
Elon 5	139	38	n.c.	
Elon 1	143	10	-2	-1.4

Mortgage Banks

Adanot 0.1	1136	-	-	-
Adanot 0.5	1291	5	n.c.	
Adanot 1	890	10	-10	-1.1
Adanot 5	363	53	-10	-2.7
Adanot 1	1280	10	-140	-10.0
Adanot 5	400	20	n.c.	
Adanot 1	3421	n.c.	-	-
Adanot 5	1145	n.c.	-	-
Adanot 1	1080	7	+30	+2.9
Adanot 5	896	6	-	-
Adanot 1	445	143	n.c.	
Adanot 5	163	50	-8	-4.9
Adanot 1	145	+13	+10.2	
Adanot 5	90	195	-8	-8.2

Financial Institutions

Shilton 1	72	743	-3	-4.0
Shilton 5	1045	s.o.i.	-30	-4.6
Shilton 1	42400	-	n.c.	
Shilton 5	1147	-	n.c.	
Shilton 1	1147	-	n.c.	
Shilton 5	1147	-	n.c.	
Shilton 1	1147	-	n.c.	
Shilton 5	1147	-	n.c.	
Shilton 1	1147	-	n.c.	
Shilton 5	1147	-	n.c.	

Insurance

Arayeh 1	501	70	-38	-7.1
Arayeh 5	301	254	-21	-6.0
Arayeh 1	4950	-	-	-
Arayeh 5	125	100	-6	-3.7
Arayeh 1	786	-	-	-
Arayeh 5	165	25	-18	-10.1
Arayeh 1	215	-	-	-
Arayeh 5	793	109	+2	+0.3
Arayeh 1	1000	34	+50	+5.3
Arayeh 5	490	20	+40	+8.9
Arayeh 1	1140	-	+40	+3.6
Arayeh 5	1140	-	+40	+3.6
Arayeh 1	1140	-	+40	+3.6
Arayeh 5	1140	-	+40	+3.6
Arayeh 1	1140	-	+40	+3.6
Arayeh 5	1140	-	+40	+3.6
Arayeh 1	1140	-	+40	+3.6
Arayeh 5	1140	-	+40	+3.6

Textiles and Clothing

Off	124	23	-7	-5.0
Off	87	20	+4	+5.5
Baruch 1	590	7	n.c.	
Baruch 5	270	2	n.c.	
Baruch 1	70	21	-9	-11.3
Baruch 5	83	28	-5	-5.7
Baruch 1	52	50	-4	-7.1
Baruch 5	87	114	n.c.	
Baruch 1	54	23	+7	+14.9
Baruch 5	825	-	-	-
Baruch 1	60	255	n.c.	
Baruch 5	55	237	-5	-8.3
Baruch 1	55	237	-5	-8.3
Baruch 5	55	237	-5	-8.3
Baruch 1	55	237	-5	-8.3
Baruch 5	55	237	-5	-8.3
Baruch 1	55	237	-5	-8.3
Baruch 5	55	237	-5	-8.3
Baruch 1	55	237	-5	-8.3
Baruch 5	55	237	-5	-8.3

Computers

Clal Comp.	460	8	+1	+0.2
Clal Comp.	297	-	-	-
Clal Comp.	930	20	n.c.	
Clal Comp.	535	10	n.c.	
Clal Comp.	310	-	-	-
Clal Comp.	210	-	-	-
Clal Comp.	361	25	n.c.	
Clal Comp.	221	60	n.c.	
Clal Comp.	123	1	n.c.	
Clal Comp.	1125	-	-	-
Clal Comp.	970	2	n.c.	

Metals and Metal Products

Octagon	254	-	-	-
Octagon	240	3	-12	-4.8
Octagon	280	63	n.c.	
Octagon	1680	22	n.c.	
Octagon	1301	-	-	-
Octagon	975	3	-25	-2.5
Octagon	351	14	+10	+2.9
Octagon	163	67	+15	+9.1
Octagon	287	258	+1	+0.4
Octagon	262	30	+17	+6.9
Octagon	385	38	n.c.	
Octagon	66	-	-	-
Octagon	162	b.o.i.	+9	+4.9
Octagon	81	-	-	-
Octagon	680	3	-26	-3.7
Octagon	278	57	+25	+9.9
Octagon	180	74	+5	+2.9
Octagon	254	8	-1	-0.4

Electrical Machinery

Elbit 1	75745	4	+3100	+4.3
Elbit 5	108000	-	+4295	+4.1
Elbit 1	371	15	+1	+0.3
Elbit 5	198	64	-1	-0.5
Elbit 1	215	10	+4	+1.9
Elbit 5	800	86	-39	-4.7
Elbit 1	600	-	-	-
Elbit 5	79000	-	+2000	+2.6
Elbit 1	2300	42	+2000	+7.4
Elbit 5	750	-	-	-
Elbit 1	2345	166	+45	+2.0
Elbit 5	1470	52	+70	+5.0
Elbit 1	1160	22	n.c.	
Elbit 5	3500	-	-	-
Elbit 1	252	75	-25	-9.8
Elbit 5	189	50	-21	-10.0
Elbit 1	70	1370	-38	-5.5
Elbit 5	44	14	+23	+4.9
Elbit 1	206	-	-	-
Elbit 5	121	44	+19	+13.6
Elbit 1	251	20	-4	-1.6
Elbit 5	120	n.c.	-	-
Elbit 1	345	15	+40	+10.0
Elbit 5	516	94	-20	-3.7
Elbit 1	838	28	+30	+3.7
Elbit 5	485	68	+35	+7.8
Elbit 1	331	10	-19	-5.4

Building Materials

	ILDC r	191
-4.0	Ispro	60
-4.6	Isralom	47
-	Isras	81
-	Cohen Dev.	24
-	Cohen Dev.op	12
-	Cial Real	16
-	Lumir 1	13
+4.0	Lumir 5	7
+1.5	Lumir.op	3
-	M.T.M. 1	37
+1.7	Bldg. Res.	9
+3.1	Bldg. Res. op	4
+4.2	Modul	33
-	Mishnact	17
-	Menrav	7
+3.1	Menrav op	11
-	Mar-Lex	58
-	Mar-Lex.op	70

Ani Rath
Editor and
Managing Director

**THE JERUSALEM
POST**

Erwin Frenkel
Editor

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Violence on the right

NATIONAL POLICE headquarters yesterday ordered the beefing up of police protection for election rallies during the final ten days of the campaign as the first signs of violence surfaced over the last few days.

On Wednesday, former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, was heckled and harassed in Kiryat Shmona by young Likud supporters; Labour chairman Shimon Peres was attacked in Efrat in Gush Etzion by Kach and other extremist elements associated with Tehiya who were specially bused in from Kiryat Arba; and Shmuel leader Amnon Rubinstein was prevented from speaking in Petah Tikva by Kach goons and rowdies associated with other religious parties. Earlier this week, demonstrators in Tiberias attacked Mr. Peres.

Before the election campaign was blessedly marked by an absence of violence in contrast to the 1981 campaign when violence was rampant.

There are times when incipient violence can be checked by the force of exhortation, especially when it clearly represents a joint determination by leaders of all parties to nip it in the bud.

But when words fail, the illicit resort to violence can only be met and checked by the application of legitimate official force. Such would seem to be the case in the present situation.

Cynics may argue that Police Minister Yosef Burg, who has for years pursued a policy of reining in the police in the face of religious violence in Jerusalem and elsewhere, has finally acted in the present case as a matter of political self-interest. They see it as a tacit admission by the pragmatic NRP leader that the Labour Alignment stands a good chance of forming the next government.

Be that as it may, the orders to strengthen police protection are a welcome step. An enhanced police presence, to be effective, must be linked with speedy prosecution of those detained on charges of violence at campaign rallies.

The determined stand against illegal posting of party advertisements has been successful in this campaign in keeping the walls of the country's buildings significantly more immune to this form of election-time depredation that was the case in former elections. A similar determined stand against rowdism and violence should prove equally effective.

It is clear to all that the source of the violence that has cropped up in the campaign is located in the parties on the right side of the political spectrum. The far left has at times resorted to the use of the epithet "fascist" against its Likud and rightist opponents. But there has been not one recorded case of physical violence from the left or attempts to break up election rallies.

It is quite a different picture on the right. Violence is the stock in trade of Meir Kahane's Kach party. Tehiya, which espouses an extreme political stand on the territories, settlement, and attitudes towards Arabs, has usually refrained from descending to the use of violence. But this time its leaders may have lost control over some of the hotheads among its supporters.

May it not be that the recent selective legitimization of attempted murder against West Bank Arab leaders by "cultured" Tehiya leader Prof. Yuval Ne'eman is being interpreted by some of his followers as legitimization for the application of force against Jewish "enemies and traitors" too?

The Likud has sought to curb its own rowdy supporters for the better part of the campaign. But as the campaign and Likud rhetoric has heated up, this has apparently become more difficult.

Certainly, the Likud has the most to lose from such a loss of control, which would raise anew the image of the rabble-rousing populist party which it has sought to soften under Mr. Shamir.

FOR A WHILE last week it appeared that the election campaign was heating up. But it soon transpired that despite all the smoke, no real fire was burning. Some flames may yet be kindled and be kept going until polling day, but so far this has not happened.

The television debate between Mr. Shamir and Mr. Peres did not do it, nor did the sudden flare-up earlier of the controversy over little Lisa Peretz, of Kiryat Shmona, and her mother, whom the Likud sought to make into media stars on its behalf.

Outdoor rallies and street-corner happenings this time are not what they used to be, and without Menachem Begin, the Likud lacks sparkle and Labour lacks its challenge. On the Likud side there are some pale imitations, and on Labour's side events are so stage-managed that spontaneous excitement is difficult.

The only refuge for the incurable political addict is the television screen, where the election spots are the only show that can be relied on to be telecast on schedule in this season of strikes.

But night after night there are only frustrated expectations. The Alignment seems to be determined to sleepwalk the voters to the polls on July 23, and the Likud is still searching for a magic formula that would wake up many of the same voters.

Occasional gimmickry and comedy on both sides do not add more than momentary spark to the delight chiefly of the confirmed party faithful. Much of the more serious argumentation — be it slightly above or below the belt — should also be classified as preaching to the converted.

Some of the Alignment side are convinced that the party's low-key strategy, designed to attract the floating vote, is a gross mistake. They argue that by concentrating on disenchanted Likud supporters, the Alignment is in fact neglecting its own backers.

These must not be taken for granted, they contend. Not only must the floating voter be courted, but the long-time supporters must be encouraged to remain loyal.

This is mainly the view articulated by Abba Eban, Yossi Sarid and

SMOKE WITHOUT FIRE

By SARAH HONIG



Deputy Premier David Levy meeting the people in Tel Aviv's Hatikva quarter.

(Israel Sun)

Mamam. They fear that while Labour may capture an unknown quantity of floating voters, it may lose many of its more ideologically committed followers to smaller parties, like Shinui and the CRM, or to Lova Elia.

That is basically why Sarid is advocating a far tougher, more aggressive line than others in the campaign headquarters are willing to consider. And that is why he got into a bitter fight last weekend with the Labour's public relations firm of Kesher-Barel.

His opponents argue that what Labour must do now is make sure that Labour holds on to its lead. For the general picture painted by pollsters is quite satisfactory for the Alignment now. A no-holds-barred confrontation would play into Likud hands, because it is the Likud that must make the gains, while Labour must wage a stationary war.

AS A RESULT of this strategy, Sarid, one of the most prominent figures in the Labour information campaign (who, among his many other contributions, is the chief script-writer for the Gashash Trio), came under sharp attack last week.

Fellow members in the Alignment campaign headquarters and Kesher-Barel personnel blamed him for the fact that portions of the Alignment television campaign spots had been blacked out several times by order of Justice Gavriel Bach, head of the Central Elections Committee.

There were also complaints in Labour about other telecasts in which research was faulty and the picture incomplete, allowing the Likud to put a question mark on the credibility of some Labour messages.

THE UPSHOT of the battle is that, if anything, Labour is going to be even more careful now than it has been before.

The Likud has revelled in pricking Labour's balloons, and its strategists would like nothing better than the opportunity to do more of the same.

So just as the Likud will be alert to pounce on any Labour mishaps, Labour will be careful to avoid them.

All this sounds like a sure recipe for maintaining the campaign at low key to the end. But that is not necessarily so. Unpredictability is always a factor. Likud prayers for Labour mistakes might get answered. Or the Likud may latch on to a dramatic event that, at the time of this writing, cannot be forecast.

The Likud certainly sorely needs high drama to catch up with Labour. But there are no signs that Likud leaders have a dramatic surprise up their sleeve. In fact, Likud campaign strategists have told *The Post* that they don't know how drama can be created or from what materials.

Even the most fervent Likud optimists do not expect a miracle turning point this late in the game.

strategy of both large parties could make this the Year of the Small Parties.

The Likud, like Labour, is neglecting some of its old party faithful. And like Labour, it has targeted very little of its campaign on the middle-class Ashkenazi vote.

Just as Labour might lose precious votes to Shinui, so the Likud might lose even less affordable votes to Tehiya.

The intelligentsia and the diehards may possibly defect to the Yuval Ne'eman-Rafael Eitan banner. The Likud, therefore, must make more use of Defence Minister Moshe Arens for the middle-class vote and of his fiery predecessor, Ariel Sharon, as an antidote to Rafal.

SHARON HAS NOT been put in political cold storage, as some observers insist. Despite hostility to him even in the Likud, he is seen as one of Likud's bigger vote-getters. His television appearances have been few, simply because he has lost his voice.

He is a tireless campaigner, who, despite little love for him at Likud headquarters, does four or five daily solo electioneering jobs at one marketplace or another. (Runners-up are Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and his deputy, David Levy, with a nightly appearance each).

Sharon's television campaign debut may add some ferment to the situation, though not of the sort the Likud strategists would necessarily welcome.

Another potential source of excitement which the Likud would definitely not welcome is the publication of the latest cost-of-living index on Sunday. It is expected to be steep in a month that is historically not too problematic.

This blow, in the last week of the campaign, may be a bad one for the Likud, and its leaders thus far admit they don't know how they will deal with this potential disaster, almost on the eve of the polling day.

The betting in the Likud is that there will be more television appearances by Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orad to explain the damaging figures away, which is not a sure formula of infusing the campaign with any real life. Cohen-Orad is hardly the saviour rabbit for the Likud to pull out of its hat.

IF THE UNFORSEEN does not happen, all that might be expected is a slight additional closing of the gap between the two large parties — a process which, to some extent, is inevitable. Some of the floating voters will return to their original Likud base.

The question is whether this will be enough for the Likud considering that in 1981, with Begin and minus the Lebanon War and current inflation figures, the party had only a razor-thin advantage over Labour.

The writer is the political reporter of The Jerusalem Post.

READERS' LETTERS

OLYMPICS FOR THE DISABLED

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Your article of June 17 on the Olympics for the Disabled (and not the "handicapped") contained two inaccuracies.

The American venue of these competitions is Hofstra University, Nassau County, Long Island, New York, and not New Jersey.

While it is true that the games in Illinois were cancelled (because of a lack of funds), they were not, as stated in the article, intended for all categories of disabled, but only for the spinal paralysed. This group will have its Olympics in Stoke Mandeville, Great Britain from July 21 to August 1, the location which has hosted competitions for the paralysed every summer since 1952.

We hope that this article is the first of a series on this year's Olympics for the Disabled. Israel's disabled athletes, whose achievements are among the world's best, deserve as much.

A. OHRY, M.D.,
Member of the Israel Sports Association for the Disabled,
Member of the International Stoke Mandeville Games Federation — Medical Committee
Tel Hashomer.

THE INFIRM AGED

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I read with great interest D'vora Ben Shaul's article of June 24 about the infirm aged.

I believe all girls who do not wish to be in the army should be required to serve in nursing homes for the aged in their own home town, in the framework of *Sherut Leumi*. This would certainly provide a partial solution to understaffing.

SARA MILLER
Bnei Brak.

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TRAVELLING WITH EL-AL

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — My brother and his family who recently arrived in Israel from the United States for a short visit via El Al found their luggage missing upon arrival. After filling out the appropriate forms, they were told the missing luggage would be located and sent to their address in Israel.

Upon calling El Al to find out if his missing things had been found, my brother was told that most of his luggage had been found. However, they would not, under any circumstances, send his things to his address because "Efrat" (Gush Etzion) is "not part of Israel"; it is captured territory.

It is indeed a very sad day when the Israeli airline does not recognize that which we expect the rest of the world to recognize.

CHAIM SCHMELL

Efrat.

El Al replies:
The Lost and Found Department of El Al, based at Ben-Gurion Airport, has contracted with an independent delivery service to relay "delayed arrival" baggage to their owners throughout Israel.

POISON GAS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I refer to the AP report in your issue of June 25 on the use of poison gas by the Japanese against the Chinese from 1937 to 1945. At the time, this was reported worldwide. The practically complete absence of any response then serves to point up how deaf, blind and possibly dumb, the masses are to the things that really matter in this sad sick world.

How bitterly the Chinese complained to the then mighty British, to the U.S. and the whole world, about this dreaded warfare. How little notice Britain, the U.S. and the world took, because it might affect their special interests! And so, to hell with the lives of the Chinese soldiers.

During the Sino-Japanese war, I spent a year helping the newly formed Chinese Red Cross. I sent a

report to Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek, which was then presented by Dr. Wellington Koo, the Chinese Delegate to the League of Nations. The League of Nations was even less effective than the United Nations, if that is possible. This horrible story could well be repeated unless we strive for peace.

Jerusalem. DR. HARRY TALBOT

Today, a new solution has been found, which guarantees El Al the ability to send suitcases throughout the country.

NACHMANI, KLIEMAN
Company Spokesman
Ben-Gurion Airport.

WARFARE

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TIME FOR A CHANGE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — If for no other reason than psychological ones, a change in political leadership is needed in Israel. Tremendous inflation, a sick economy and continuous physical losses in their two year presence in Lebanon are other reasons for a change. There must be a better way, and a new administration should be given the chance to find a way.

Salem, Mass. TED SIMONS

PRINTING ERRORS

word "never" was dropped. Further on, I said that Yadin stood firm on the importance of the process. However, the previous sentence was omitted, confusing the issue. That sentence was read: "There were constant demands for tangible results, which would have been at the expense of process and of learning."

DANIEL SHIMSHONI
Herzliya.

A Personal Invitation From Ezer Weizman

Shalom,
Please join me for an open discussion (in English) of the important issues of the day that affect us all.

Accadia Hotel, Herzlia Pituach
Friday afternoon, the 13th of July, 1.30 — 4.00 p.m.

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Maya 03-332221

The letter represents Yahad — Ezer Weizman

POSTSCRIPTS

THE AUTHORITIES of the West German town of Wilhelmshaven have been trying for some time to get a former Nazi official to remove from his prepared gravestone an epitaph which praises his former occupation as a senior executive officer in the headquarters of Adolf Hitler.

Henry Picker, 72, had his gravestone prepared several years ago. The stonemason told journalists that Picker also wanted him to have his name flanked with two Swastikas in gold.

The stonemason said that as soon

as he received the order, he called to town authorities to ask whether it was permissible to carry out the work. The authorities answered that the Swastikas are illegal, but that nothing could be done against the man's desire to record his role in Hitler's headquarters as a milestone in his career.

In spite of recent articles in local papers denouncing the epitaph, Picker has refused to remove the inscription from his gravestone. The campaign began after a Jewish resident of Wilhelmshaven detected the inscription and protested to the authorities.

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